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AS WE GO TO PRESS comes news of the proposed Chino-Japanese truce, instigated by the League of Nations in agreement with the United States. The terms, as yet not fixed, will probably include mutual evacuation of Shanghai. If war is thus averted, a grateful world will await news of it.

CONGRESSIONAL JEALOUSIES appear at the moment to be imperiling that spirit of cooperation by means of which the two parties were to help rid us of the economic depression. It was understood at the beginning of the session that the Democrats would work in harness with the Republicans in putting through an economic-reconstruction program. The Democrats needed little prompting, for they wanted to show high finance and big business that they could be just as friendly as the Republicans. But recently officials of the Hoover Administration have been making numerous speeches in various sections of the country giving Mr. Hoover full credit for the work Congress has thus far accomplished. This has irked the Democratic leaders in no little measure. They know that no part of the Hoover program could have been put through Congress without the aid of the Democratic majority in the House. They point out that many of the "Hoover" ideas have originated with Democrats, having come, for example, from men like Senator Glass. They are complaining frankly and with some bitterness that the Republican spellbinders are seeking to capitalize for the purposes of the coming election the results achieved by Congress, which could not have been obtained without Democratic votes. And so the Democrats are now threatening to put an end to their cooperation.

SENATOR NORRIS'S anti-injunction bill, introduced at the same time by Representative La Guardia in the House, may very well have been passed by the time this issue of *The Nation* appears. Senator Hebert of Rhode Island has been leading the opposition, but the amendments he suggested have been overruled. The bill forbids the summary granting of ex parte injunctions, and provides that injunctions may be granted only after a hearing at which both sides are represented; it contains a bill of rights for labor which declares peaceful picketing legal and outlaws "yellow-dog contracts" by calling them "contrary to public policy"; it provides jury trial for cases of contempt of court and makes it possible for the accused to demand trial by a judge other than the one who issued the contempt order; and it makes provision to avoid the delay in labor trials which now operates to keep "agitators" in jail for the duration of a strike. It will be seen that the bill offers an excellent bulwark for labor against the unlawful breaking-up of a strike, and it establishes fundamental rights for labor in a powerful and compelling form. Senator Norris defended the declaration of "public policy" in the bill by saying that "Congress has the authority to define public policy in all matters concerning which it has the power to legislate." The bill, of course, may be challenged in some points by the Supreme Court, but its passage will be a long step forward for the right to organize and strike.

REFUSING TO FIGHT OPENLY, the Hoover Administration has adopted another means of combating the critics of the President's past life. The *Organized Farmer*, a Farmer-Labor weekly paper published in Red Wing, Minnesota, started publication last November of a series of articles purporting to deal with Mr. Hoover's career. The circulation of the newspaper trebled immediately. But the Post Office Department just as quickly informed the publishers that the *Organized Farmer* must hereafter pay one-cent postage on all copies sent to 206 of its present subscribers and to all new subscribers. This extra tax, the Post Office explained, was necessary because it had found upon investigation that 206 of the persons receiving the paper had never subscribed for it. Mildred Scherf, the publisher, denies that copies have ever been sent "to persons not ordering the publication." She says that the postal authorities have "refused for several months to furnish any names of any such subscriptions or any proof whatever to show that their statement is correct." The *Organized Farmer* was barred from the mails a few weeks before the second order was issued, but through the efforts of a number of prominent progressives, including several United States Congressmen, the exclusion order was not enforced.

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SAMUEL SEABURY, speaking at the fifth Victory Dinner of the Charter Committee in Cincinnati, sharply criticized Governor Roosevelt for his delay in removing Sheriff Farley from office, but directed his criticisms generally and directly at the control of New York City by Tammany. He said:

> The power of Tammany Hall is not only a menace to New York City—it is a menace to the nation as well. It drives public men whose instincts would lead them to speak out in protest against the corruption that has been revealed to a sullen silence. They know the conditions are evil, but they fear to antagonize the power of Tammany Hall; and politicians seeking its favors cater to it even where they feel they would be discredited if they openly lined up with it. Where they hold public office and are forced or given occasions to rule adversely to Tammany Hall, they soften their opposition, so that, while the public will not regard them as pro-Tammany, Tammany Hall will not regard them as opposed to it.

An attempt was made to belittle Mr. Seabury's speech by the charge that in making it he was furthering his own political ambitions. This may or may not be true, but the truth of his remarks as such is entirely incontrovertible. He might have added one point, of course. It is possible openly to oppose Tammany Hall and it has been done; but it takes courage, and a kind of political ambition that goes far beyond a mere desire to hold office. This sort of courage is seen in politics about once in a generation; when it appears it is instantly recognized and handsomely rewarded. At present we are not enjoying any conspicuous examples of it.

FOR SHEER CAPACITY for learning nothing from experience, no one can excel the Federal Reserve authorities, who have indicated their return to a cheap-money policy by cutting the New York rediscount rate from 3½ to 3 per cent, notwithstanding the complete futility of this policy in the past. The hope is now, as before, that artificially cheap money will encourage borrowing and a resumption of business activity. For five months last year the rate was kept at the astonishingly low figure of 1½ per cent, with no visible effects whatever in encouraging borrowing. The policy did, however, help to encourage the enormous gold withdrawals from this market by Europe, amounting to $750,000,000, and, as a consequence of these, the rate was hastily raised in two successive weeks last October to 3½ per cent. In January of this year, again, the bill-buying rate was cut under prevailing market levels, also to encourage business activity, and again the only result was an almost immediate further outward movement of gold. Now, apparently on the assumption that the Glass-Steagall bill will make it a matter of indifference whether or not more gold is withdrawn to Europe, the New York Federal Reserve Bank is cutting the rate again. Some further loss of gold would not be regrettable if the cheap-money policy were in fact a sound one. But not only is there no reason to suppose that it will encourage more borrowing and more active business under present conditions; it may well have precisely the opposite effect. One of the great hindrances to an expansion of credit is the desire of banks to keep themselves in an exceptionally liquid position; another is their lack of confidence in business. High interest rates might encourage a more liberal lending policy; low rates won't.

THE WIDESPREAD AGITATION against short selling is regrettable from three points of view: It reveals a tendency to attack the symptoms and barometers of our difficulties rather than the difficulties themselves; it shows an astonishing solicitude on the part of members of Congress for the holders of securities, which they do not seem to feel, judging by the vote on the La Follette-Costigan bill, for people who are merely starving; the prohibition of short selling seems unlikely to protect even the bullish stock speculators in whose supposed interest it is urged, and in the long run will probably prove harmful to them. Nevertheless, we suggest that the Stock Exchange itself, in its own interest as well as in the interests of experiment, put a complete stop to short selling for a period of, say, six months, exempting only the selling of odd-lot houses in the course of their business and the practice of "selling against the box." Such a prohibition would be unlikely to do any particular harm in a market like the present one that has already experienced the worst deflation on record in the twentieth century; it is in boom periods that the prohibition of short selling would do its greatest harm. The prohibition of short selling by the Exchange itself would give the country an opportunity to see what a market without short selling was like. And the Exchange's action might forestall foolish legislation on the part of Congress, which might not be repealed even if it proved to be extremely harmful. If the legislation were passed anyway, it would at least be passed after a certain amount of experience in the effects of prohibiting short selling had been gained.

THE NEW British 10 per cent general tariff is in effect. Federal government experts are reported to be concerned. They point out that this tariff will be required of 46 per cent of America's annual sales to England, which have amounted to nearly a fifth of our total exports. This is in addition to duties already existing, so that hereafter only about a quarter of the total sales of the United States to Great Britain will enter duty free. Perhaps the 10 per cent duty would not be so serious standing by itself, but it is pointed out that since sterling has depreciated, purchasers of American exports in England have been required to pay substantially more for them in terms of sterling than before, though they have not had to pay more for the goods of countries that followed Great Britain off the gold basis. This puts us at a great disadvantage in competition. In short, these "federal government experts" are reported as holding that the British tariff is just another one of the artificial barriers that have resulted in "strangulation of international trade and commerce." But isn't "strangulation" a seditious word? Who are these "federal government experts" that are talking such language? Don't they know that Mr. Hoover hailed with satisfaction the boosting of our tariff to a new high record, and that foreign-trade strangulation is the official Administration policy?

GERMANY IS TO HOLD its Presidential election on March 13. Should none of the candidates receive an absolute majority of the votes cast at that time, a second election will be held in April, at which the candidate with a plurality will be declared the winner. Germany is presumably a democratic republic, but not one of the aspirants for the office is either an avowed democrat or a thorough-

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going republican. President Hindenburg, who has been put into the running by the moderates and who will have the support of the Social Democrats, is the only one of the four contenders whose support of the republic can be depended upon. The other three—Thälmann, the Communist; Düsterberg, candidate of the Stahlhelm and the reactionary Hugenberg group; and Hitler, the fascist candidate—are enemies of the present republic. It is likely that Germany will choose Hindenburg, though there is no definite assurance of it. It is impossible to estimate accurately what new strength the Communists and fascists have gathered since the Reichstag elections in September, 1930, although in subsequent state and commune elections both groups have shown notable gains. In the event that the candidate of one of these two parties is victorious, it is almost certain that the smoldering warfare between the two extremist groups will be brought out into the open. On the other hand, a Hindenburg victory would virtually assure maintenance of the status quo.

ALFONSO HAS ASKED his "beloved Spanish children" to restore him to power. His bid was made in a public manifesto charging the present republican regime in Spain with creating a state of anarchy which to the former king seems likely to lead to communism. In Spain he sees "religion persecuted, the unity of the fatherland destroyed, the family blasted, property seized individually and collectively, liberty of work and learning destroyed, not only ridiculously but degenerately, under the inspiration of communism, incendiarism, and Judaism." To him it would be "a crime of treachery" if he were to remain silent longer. He has therefore called upon "Catholics, Spaniards, monarchists," and militarists to help him regain his throne. Poor, abused Alfonso is dreaming. Whatever the conditions in Spain may be, and they are far from that state of anarchy which Alfonso pretends to see, they would be infinitely worse if the monarchists and militarists were to attempt a coup d'etat such as their former monarch has asked them to try. There is little doubt that the republicans, and even many former supporters of Alfonso who now see the futility of any attempt at restoration, would go to extreme lengths in defending the existing order. Should the moderates and monarchists engage in a death struggle, the way would almost certainly be opened to a seizure of power by the Communists, thus bringing about the very situation Alfonso wants to prevent.

THOUGH NOT NEW to Northern Europe, fascism appears at last to have gained a secure foothold in the Scandinavian countries, notably Sweden, and in Finland. Indeed, in the latter country, once called the most democratic in Europe, the fascist movement now feels strong enough to come out openly in opposition to the present government. A march on Helsingfors is planned, and may have taken place before these lines appear. The Finnish fascists are for the most part peasants and war veterans. They are financed largely, or so it is reported, by timber interests and others who have been hurt by Russian competition in the world lumber market. It was the fascists—they call themselves Lapuans, from the district in which most of their leaders live—who were primarily responsible for the success of the referendum outlawing the Communist Party. But now they contend that the government of President Svinhufvud is using the anti-Communist law to suppress the direct-action tactics of the Lapuans. Hence they have demanded the resignation of Minister of the Interior Born and of General Jalander, Governor of the Province of Nyland, who, they declare, have been over-zealous in carrying out the government's policy. That the Lapuans intend to erect a fascist state if they succeed in their projected march on Helsingfors is open to question. Their movement has grown in recent months, but it seems improbable that they will try to overthrow the present moderate regime.

IT IS NOT SURPRISING to be told that American universities are almost without exception facing a considerable deficit as a result of reduced or omitted dividends. To some extent they are blameless in this matter, for there was no reason why, despite their departments of business, they should have foreseen what almost nobody except apparently Professor Keynes and one or two other Cassandras foresaw; but there are aspects of their problem for which they are open to criticism. In the first place, they have for the past fifteen or twenty years overbuilt, investing an inordinate part of the huge funds which they have obtained in bricks and stones and mortar instead of brains. The buildings which now ornament the university campus have got to be heated and lighted and cleaned, and in the long run it is the professor who pays for these menial offices. It is idle to maintain that the efficiency of American institutions of learning has increased in anything like the proportion in which buildings have been constructed. There is another point. American universities have started department after department on financial shoestrings, trusting that they could make a demonstration which would attract the necessary funds. This is unsound policy. Before a university enters a new field, it should be in possession of the funds by which its new activities can be financed. Had our universities built more modestly and expanded more soundly, they would not find themselves in their present financial difficulties.

ROMANCE, FRIENDS AND BROTHERS, is not dead. We still live in the land of opportunity and Something May Turn Up tomorrow. Witness the story of Charles Kane. Mr. Kane, once a resident of Worcester, Massachusetts, had been out of a job for ten weeks; he was walking from New York to Poughkeepsie, looking for work on the way; just south of Hartsdale he stubbed his toe. Being impelled by this to look toewards, he saw a leather valise at his feet; the valise happened to contain $13,000 worth of jewelry belonging to a rich lady of Greenwich, Connecticut, who subsequently rewarded Mr. Kane with $1,000. This story, which appeared in the New York *Times*, will doubtless be copied by every newspaper in the country. It will set the revolution back several years; it will be a blow to the Communists and Socialists; and if Mr. Hoover were politically astute he would immediately seize upon it for campaign material. For every member of the near-unemployed who can still buy a newspaper and who will therefore read the story will say, "There, but for the merest turn of the wheel of chance, walked I. My chance may come tomorrow. I shall not yet despair, and while I am about it I may as well vote the Republican ticket."

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Mr. Stimson's Warning to Japan

MR. STIMSON is to be congratulated for that part of his letter to Senator Borah which lays at Japan's door the responsibility for having violated the Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg Pact, though the letter does not mention Japan by name in this connection. The Secretary of State was careful to avoid charging either party in the Chinese war with being the aggressor. "It is not necessary," he said, "to inquire into the causes of the controversy or to attempt to apportion the blame between the two nations which are unhappily involved." But there is no doubt in anyone's mind that he was speaking directly to the Japanese. Indeed, the letter is simply a restatement of this country's historic Chinese policy, which holds that China must be safeguarded against the aggression of other Powers. This, said Mr. Stimson, is the main purpose of the Nine-Power Treaty. Thus he could have meant no one but the Japanese when he asserted "that a situation has developed which cannot, under any circumstances, be reconciled with the obligations of the covenants of these two treaties, and that if the treaties had been faithfully observed such a situation could not have arisen." In brief, Mr. Stimson has come vigorously and determinedly to the defense of the various peace treaties. Through the Secretary of State the United States stands out virtually alone today as the champion of the peace machinery that has been erected since the World War, for if Japan can with impunity smash the Nine-Power and Kellogg treaties, then none of the international agreements is safe.

We sincerely hope that the section of the Stimson letter dealing with the Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg Pact will have the desired effect. But Mr. Stimson has again acted belatedly. Had he in his equivocal note of January 7 taken the position he has now assumed, we might have been spared the bloodshed at Shanghai. Better yet, as we have repeatedly stated, had he taken as firm a stand immediately after the capture of Mukden last September, it is entirely likely that the Japanese militarists would have been checked. The Japanese today are too excited to listen to reason; war fever has got the better of their ordinarily calm judgment. This Mr. Stimson himself recognizes by addressing his statement of policy not to Tokio directly, but to Senator Borah. In this he undoubtedly was wise, for his ill-considered attempt to link the fortifications and armaments treaties with the peace agreements might have been interpreted by the Japanese, had they in their present agitated state of mind been called upon for an answer, as a threat of armed intervention by the United States. There is little doubt that the reply of the Japanese militarists would have been defiant perhaps to the point of provoking the United States into taking action that it might later have regretted. With respect to Mr. Stimson's appeal to the other Powers to join him in supporting the peace treaties, the letter seems destined to bear little fruit. Were the European Powers disposed to present a united front to Japan, which clearly they are not, they would have indorsed or otherwise supported the American note of January 7.

The one dangerous, and to our mind wholly gratuitous, section of the Stimson statement is that which links the peace treaties with Washington's "surrender" of "its then commanding lead in battleships" and with its agreement "to leave its positions at Guam and in the Philippines without further fortification." These were "predicated upon, among other things, the self-denying covenants contained in the Nine-Power Treaty." The possibility of modifying or abrogating this treaty cannot be discussed, the letter continued, "without considering at the same time the other promises" upon which the treaty was "really dependent." In the next breath Mr. Stimson charges Japan with having already modified and at least temporarily abrogated the Nine-Power Treaty. Can Mr. Stimson mean that we intend to increase our naval armaments and fortify Guam and the Philippines, if Japan persists in its violation of this agreement? And would this not be a direct and undisguised display of hostility toward the Japanese? If he did not mean this, his reference to "the other promises" is pointless. If we have no intention of seeking to increase our navy or fortify our possessions in the western Pacific, why mention them at all? Clearly this question was brought into the letter solely to serve as a warning to Japan that we will keep the "Open Door" inviolate at all costs, even to the extent of resorting to the use of armed force should that be thought necessary.

This warning is all the more apparent because of the action taken by the Senate Naval Affairs Committee on the same day that the Stimson statement was published. The committee sent to the Senate with its approval a bill authorizing the expenditure of approximately a billion dollars on new naval construction. The significance of this action was certainly not lost upon the other Powers. It cannot be held that there was no connection between the two events. Mr. Stimson cannot say that he did not know the committee was planning to take such action, for that would be a confession of incompetence. It is the business of the State Department to inform itself as to all pending acts of the government that might possibly have any bearing on foreign relations. Moreover, the State Department surely knew what effect the Senate committee's action was likely to have. If it considered this contemplated move embarrassing to its restatement of Chinese policy, it could easily have prevailed upon the committee to postpone action for a few days. Hence the conclusion is inescapable that the two events were directly related.

This business of rattling the American saber, however carefully that rattling may be done, is foolhardy at any time, but especially so just now. It simply adds to the war sentiment in this country which we discussed last week. It appears at this writing that the Stimson warning has had some effect on the Far Eastern situation. The Japanese are cautiously suing for peace. On the strength of this development it might be contended, to use the reasoning of the advocates of an economic boycott, that any device, even saber-rattling, is excusable if it actually prevents war. But is it not just such dangerous threats to use force, whether the threats are those of boycotts or military displays, that usually lead to an uncontrollable international explosion?

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War by Boycott

THE agitation here for an economic boycott of Japan has been temporarily scotched by Senator Borah's firm opposition and by the apparent attitude of the British and French governments, but there can be little doubt that it will make its appearance again as soon as the meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations is under way. It is only natural, of course, that those opposed to Japan's brazen and barbarous attack on China should wish to see the League and the Powers take every possible step to bring that attack to a halt; but before they approve such a weapon as the economic boycott they ought gravely to consider its probable consequences.

That a successful economic boycott would be close to ruinous for Japan there can be little doubt; few of the great Powers are so dependent as she is on foreign trade. But economic ruin means unemployment, famine, and starvation; it includes the civilian population, women and children, as well as the military, and it affects most precisely those who are already weakest. The economic boycott is not a peace weapon, but one of the deadliest of war weapons, and there is not the slightest doubt that the Japanese would consider it as such. Moreover, like other weapons of warfare, it hurts the nations that use it as well as the nation against which it is used. And it does not hurt them equally, but merely in proportion to their previous trade with the boycotted nation.

In the present instance the lion's share of the burden of such a boycott would fall upon the United States. Our trade with Japan is incomparably larger than that of any other nation; it is three times as great as that of China, which ranks second. As there is no equality in the burden of a boycott as among nations, neither is there any as among industries. Raw silk, for example, comprises two-fifths of Japan's total exports; the United States takes practically all of it; of our imports from Japan four-fifths, in value, consist of raw silk. Our exports to Japan show the same lack of balance. Fully one-half of them are in our raw cotton, of which Japan takes 40 per cent; the remainder consists mainly of lumber, iron and steel, machinery, petroleum, and automobiles. The outside burden of an economic boycott against Japan, therefore, would not only fall chiefly on the United States, but within the United States itself it would fall chiefly on two industries—cotton growing and silk-fabric manufacture, gravely increasing the distress in the South and the unemployment in the North. Obviously no one with elementary notions of justice would hold that the moral conscience of the world should be satisfied chiefly at the expense of American cotton growers and American silk workers. Japan could only be expected to strike back, and she would strike back chiefly at the United States, because we should have become her chief economic enemy.

The reasons for opposing an economic boycott in the present instance are obviously reasons for opposing the economic boycott in principle. Not only would there be no equality of trade loss among the participating nations in the present instance; there would never be such an equality of trade loss. Always some of the nations employing the boycott would suffer more than others through the sheer moral accident of having heavier trade with the nation against which the boycott was directed. It should be clear that if the economic boycott ever became established as a recognized weapon by League members and "neutrals" for disciplining nations, there could only follow an exacerbation of the present perilous tendency toward economic nationalism, isolationism, and "self-containment." Individual nations would prepare themselves against such a step by raising their tariff barriers still higher. A tariff is nothing more nor less than a partial economic boycott; like an outright boycott, it is essentially a weapon of war. It does not consist in a refusal to sell goods, but in a virtual refusal to buy them, which, by removing means of payment, soon makes it impossible to sell them either. The League and the Powers, including ourselves, should bend every effort to make peace in the Far East, but we must make peace with the methods of peace, and not with the methods of war.

Be Safe with Roosevelt

SURELY no aspirant for the highest office in the country has ever been plagued with knottier problems than is Governor Roosevelt. While the world is trembling under a burden of debt, unemployment, and the threat of war, the Governor has New York City upon his hands. He needs the ninety delegates of New York State in the coming convention; to get them he must remain friends with Tammany Hall. But to be too openly friendly with the Tiger might very well cost him votes in other parts of the country. The Seabury Committee has been barking at his heels for a year; the reformers, progressives, and other friends whom the Governor wishes to conciliate have been urging action. The Tiger has merely sat tight. On January 23 Mr. Roosevelt declared himself formally a candidate for the Presidency; on February 24 he removed Sheriff Farley from office. The month between must have been one of soul-searching and sleepless vigils. Not for the Sheriff. He, noble man, bears the Governor no ill-will, but announces that he will campaign for him just as heartily as if nothing had happened. But for the Governor, a bad four weeks.

During those first weeks of his candidacy, Mr. Roosevelt quite properly made a number of pronouncements on subjects of world import. He took several stands. For one thing he came out firmly and unequivocally against the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations. He has not yet declared his position on whether or not this country shall to a man join the Mormon church, but it can confidentially be asserted that he is against that, also. He opposed the cancelation of war debts, thus lining himself up with an overwhelming majority of both parties in Congress and of public opinion in the country. He discussed prohibition, and advocated the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, stressing, in a period of depression, the revenue to be gained thereby. In its place he would substitute State control, local option, but never, never the return of the saloon. He did not say how the saloon could be successfully prohibited, but presumably by those federal agencies which were at the same time preventing liquor from wet States from being carried over into dry ones. Finally he came to the great Democratic subject of the tariff. And for the

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tariff Governor Roosevelt advocated a world conference to consider "reciprocal methods by which we can start the actual interchange of goods."

Having disposed of these weighty subjects, the Governor took up the Farley case. His manner when he respectfully questioned the Sheriff on the mysterious funds that he had somehow accumulated in his bank balances was kindness itself. His note covering Farley's dismissal was equally kind. He dismissed the charges that the Sheriff had been incompetent, that he had appropriated interest on public funds, that he had wilfully refused to testify in a private examination. The sole reason for dismissal was: "I am not satisfied with the explanation of the sources of a large portion of the sums of money involved, and I hold that Sheriff Farley has not complied with the spirit or the letter of the rule which should guide public officials."

The Sheriff, therefore, is removed from office, with no hard feeling, and Tammany is waiting for the Governor to appoint another Tammany district leader in his place, this time, doubtless, one with a better memory for cashed checks. Mr. Roosevelt has been able to avoid offense. He is safe. He is safe on the League of Nations, which almost nobody wants anyway, on the debts, which only a few cranks would like to cancel, on the tariff, which no really practical man, though it be in accordance with the traditional position of the Democratic Party, would wish to lower, on prohibition, which we may talk about changing if we do it by passing the buck of the necessity for firm control from one governmental agency—which has failed in the last ten years—to another which failed long ago. When Mr. Roosevelt announced for the nomination, his supporters enthusiastically declared that 678 of the necessary two-thirds' vote of 770 in the convention were already his. In spite of the booms for Speaker Garner and Alfalfa Bill Murray, which are merrily rolling on, in spite of the stern pronunciamiento from former Governor Smith that he will not "in advance of the convention either support or oppose the candidacy of any aspirant for the nomination," the Roosevelt enthusiasm is evidently well placed. If a candidate can successfully continue, through the duration of his candidacy, to give offense to no one, if he can be happily all things to all men, why should he not be rewarded with admittance to the sacred precincts of the temple, why should not the accolade, the guerdon, the last and farthest symbol of public trust be his? Why should he not, in short, be nominated in June and elected next November? There are, of course, a number of answers to these rhetorical questions. They can be left to another day.

Gerhart Hauptmann

THIRTY-EIGHT years after his first visit Gerhart Hauptmann has returned to America. Whereas a generation ago Hauptmann passed an unobtrusive short stay in this country, living in a small boarding-house while he was helping to produce his "Hannele's Way to Heaven," today he is met at the City Hall by an official reception committee consisting of Mayor Walker and Nicholas Murray Butler, a swarm of college professors, and eager newspapermen. He is presented with an honorary doctorate and hailed as the foremost spirit of German letters. His coming to celebrate the Goethe centenary lends emphasis to the often-repeated claim of his admirers that he is the rightful heir to the mantle of the greatest poet Germany has produced. The banquets and speeches of the Goethe celebration will no doubt see the names of Hauptmann and the classical poet linked in expressions of fervid praise, but these will little indicate to Americans the real status of Hauptmann in contemporary German life and literature. Little is known of the wide gulf which stands between the once rebellious and secular, but now complacent and religious Hauptmann and the immediate needs and problems of his fatherland and the world.

Hauptmann has always been a consummate craftsman whatever his subject or his medium. He received the Nobel prize for his prolific output of plays, novels, stories, and poetic narratives, all as nearly perfect from the point of view of technique as one could wish. Perhaps too often this technical perfection, this richness of language and fidelity to dialect blinded us to the essential weakness and obscurity of his romantic philosophy. Hauptmann is doubtless the ideal subject for literary analysis by college professors; he belongs rather to the cloistered quiet than to the noise and heat of modern life.

His physical similarity to Goethe and his belief that he follows in the great man's footsteps have led to a curious idolatry of Hauptmann. Since the celebration of his sixtieth birthday Hauptmann has established himself as the unofficial Poet Laureate, and more and more is becoming the *perceptor Germaniae*. It is true that admirers regularly have suggested his nomination for President of the Reich, but few have taken seriously this noble gesture. He has been made the legendary hero of a cult at Hiddensee, and his castle at Agnetendorf is a place of pilgrimage. He has posed with dignity for a film on "Ways to Strength and Beauty," and his philosophic conversations have been put to paper by an unofficial Eckermann. Yet while Goethe achieved a cosmic outlook which found expression in an amazing mass of poems, plays, novels, and important scientific studies, of great value to mankind at large, Hauptmann has never stepped beyond the narrow confines of an individualist bourgeois attitude. His ideas never ran toward radicalism, and his essential romanticism and religious solution of life's problems have long shown themselves. His naturalistic style, his use of dialect, the themes of workaday life, of all of which "The Weavers" is the classic example, have only been an outer garment for a pious belief in individual salvation.

Goethe was fascinated by the power of the French Revolution, the mighty conquests of Napoleon; the second part of "Faust" is a great plea for man to immerse himself in the public life, to strive eternally for the communal good. Hauptmann, on the other hand, remained immobile, as a great war and several revolutions shook the world. In 1920 he was still dealing in the same way with the same problem to which he was so powerfully attracted at the beginning of his career—the problem of the sensitive man torn between two women. His recent "Buch der Leidenschaft," a diary in two volumes, reveals how completely he lives in an air-tight chamber apart from world events, and how his exalted personal experiences have come to preoccupy him. Today when we honor the seventy-year-old Hauptmann we really acclaim the young man whose ardor flared up for a span and then burned out into innocuous fantasy three decades ago.

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Mass Misery in Philadelphia*

By MAURITZ A. HALLGREN

Philadelphia, February 23

SOON after he took office last month Mayor J. Hampton Moore declared: "I toured the lower sections of South Philadelphia. I went into the small streets, and saw little of poverty. . . . I have counted automobiles and watched them pass a given point. Rich and poor, white and colored, alien and native-born, all riding by. . . . There is no starvation in Philadelphia."

To this Mac Parker, investigator for the Philadelphia *Record*, replied:

> Mayor Moore need not have gone into the lower sections of South Philadelphia. He need not have traveled the wide boulevard which is the Parkway. From the porch of his own home at 318 Carpenter Lane, in well-to-do and comfortable Germantown, the Mayor could have flung stones upon the suffering and poverty in his immediate neighborhood. . . . Behind the lace curtains which the Mayor saw hanging in the windows of "the clean and comfortable homes" lies the picture he didn't see. Gaunt children, sunken eyes, ten-year-olds nineteen pounds under weight. Children in rags, without sufficient clothes to permit their attendance at school. Children without shoes. . . . Starvation in Philadelphia today is an accumulative starvation; starvation through undernourishment; slow starvation from insufficient food.

A day or two before I arrived in Philadelphia a Negro youth of patently deficient mental powers confessed that he had assaulted and murdered a white girl of seven. The crime took place in an abandoned tenement on North American Street. This narrow and shabby thoroughfare lies near the heart of Philadelphia's "Bandbox District." Here extreme poverty has existed since long before the bull-market crash in 1929. The Bandbox tenements are almost all narrow, three-story affairs, one room to a floor. They have no modern heating or plumbing, the majority of them having to depend on outdoor toilets. They are dirty, dingy, and dark, facing upon narrow lanes and courts, some of which are no more than five feet across. Approximately 140,000 people live in the district, in these unsanitary and depressing slum dwellings. In some of the tenements they live two, three, and even four families to a room. What effect such conditions have upon human conduct may be seen from a study recently made of fifteen families that had crowded themselves into nine of these tenements. Over a period of three years there had been reported in the fifteen families thirteen cases of illegitimacy and attacks on girls and women, eleven cases of desertion, three of imbecility, eighteen of communicable diseases, seven of absolute poverty, five of cruelty and incorrigibility, and five of chronic drunkenness. This offers but a brief picture of what must be happening to many of the other thousands of families in the district.

The Bandbox District was suddenly called to the attention of the social-minded residents of Philadelphia by the murder of Dorothy Lutz. There is now in full swing a campaign to abolish these hideous slums. But, one may ask, what of the larger social problem that has fixed itself upon Philadelphia as a result of unemployment? What of the distress and mass misery to be found in every quarter of the city? Will it take, let us say, a few more murders or perhaps a hunger riot or two, to awaken the good people of the city to the true significance of this problem? There is a distinct connection between the Bandbox District and unemployment in Philadelphia, for under the pressure of unemployment whole sections of the city are sinking into conditions not unlike those obtaining in the slums.

Many of the more fortunate residents of the city, though they know there is unemployment, have really no conception of its extent or severity. I heard it said by more than one person that the mild winter was a blessing, for it meant that the jobless were not suffering! And there are any number of business men and other affluent citizens here who are only too anxious to believe with Mayor Moore that there is no poverty in Philadelphia. They quite obviously think that if this poverty is discovered, something may have to be done about it, and that something would certainly mean an increase in taxes. To the last man these Philadelphians are opposed to higher taxes. Their representatives in Washington say that the federal government must not help because the problem is one for the States and communities. Clinton A. Sowers, machine Republican and a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature representing a Philadelphia district, declared that "Governor Pinchot thinks that all this relief should be distributed from Harrisburg under his personal direction. We think that the neighborhoods of the State know more about the needs of the people than the Governor does." And in this neighborhood the principal public servant, Mayor Moore, declares that "there is no poverty." So the political merry-go-round runs on, while at least 300,000 Philadelphians are in dire need. The poverty and spreading destitution are not thrust under one's nose as one walks along the principal business streets. There are without question thousands of automobiles to be seen daily on the boulevards, and more raccoon coats along Chestnut Street than can be found on any college campus. But just beyond the business section, in the homes of the unemployed on the river front, in the Bandbox District, in South and West Philadelphia, one may quickly learn whether there is any actual suffering.

In Philadelphia, as in most other cities, the poor are taking care of the poor. Thousands of small, independent shopkeepers are going bankrupt trying to help their neighbors. The Philadelphia *Record* found any number of these corner grocers, butchers, and bakers, heavily in debt themselves, who had on their books unpaid accounts of customers running in some cases into the hundreds of dollars. John Nigro, a baker, was sued for debt a few days ago. His accounts receivable totaled $5,000. He could collect none of them; he knew when he was letting these bills run up that he was dispensing charity, but he continued to provide relief for his neighbors until he himself went to the wall. In the same neighborhood another shopkeeper, pointing to a bill of

* The second of a series of articles by Mr. Hallgren on unemployment in various parts of the country.—EDITOR THE NATION.

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$200 that was owed him, said: "Eleven children in that house. They've got no shoes, no pants. In the house, no chairs. My God, you go in there, you cry, that's all. What can you do? Let them go hungry?"

So, too, with many of the landlords. There have been evictions seemingly without end, but inquiry reveals that in most of these cases the landlords own extensive properties. The bulk of the residential property is in the hands of small property-owners, people who own their own homes and perhaps one or two other houses. And untold numbers of these landlords are now destitute or nearly so. Yet they allow their tenants to live on for months without paying rent. In one small area covering a few city blocks I found more than two hundred families who were back in their rent anywhere from six to eighteen months. I visited the home of Mrs. Stout, a widow with a grown son who for months had been without work. She had been buying her home through a building-and-loan association. Some time ago she found it necessary to rent out the second and third floors as separate apartments. Her tenants like her son lost their jobs; they stayed on through the summer and fall, paying no rent. The day I was there all three families were destitute. The gas and electricity had been shut off; all three pantries were virtually empty; Mrs. Stout had not a nickel to meet the next building-and-loan payment which was due that evening. She was about to lose her home. Her case was by no means exceptional. There are hundreds of landlords who hang on to the bitter end, letting go only when the mortgage-holder or tax-collector steps in—and then they and their tenants have to double up with relatives or neighbors, or go out into the streets. No fewer than fifteen hundred dwellings are being sold at public auction in Philadelphia every month.

How heavy is the load that these shopkeepers and landlords are carrying can never be measured. But another tremendous load is being borne by the Unemployment Relief Committee, as to whose work statistics are available. The chairman of the organization is Horatio Gates Lloyd, partner in the local branch of Morgan and Company. A year ago Lloyd was typical of his class, a conservative banker, thinking little of the masses. Today he does not hesitate to advocate direct government relief for the unemployed, to support the Costigan-La Follette bill, to which those of his kind in Philadelphia are bitterly opposed. It may be that Lloyd has been sincerely moved by what he has seen of privation among the workers, or it may be that he is acting out of pure selfishness, knowing that a hungry people will imperil his property and his wealth. But whatever his motive, his committee is doing a remarkable job—with the all too slim resources at its disposal. I say this in all frankness, although I do not believe in the sort of private charity to which Philadelphia is having to submit. Lloyd himself has come to acknowledge the limitations of private charity, of the American system of "self-help" concerning which we hear so much from Washington. In a recent statement he pointed out that the average amount of relief expended by his committee per family is $4.38 per week. "While it must be remembered," he said, "that in most instances this was supplemented from such other sources as relatives, churches, wages of minors, and the like, this amount was grossly inadequate. It can best be described as disaster relief, merely enough to maintain existence."

The Lloyd organization began operating last June as a special branch of the Department of Public Welfare. The municipal government borrowed $3,000,000 to pay for the relief to be distributed. Lloyd insisted that the work of distribution be taken out of the hands of the politicians and placed completely in his charge. His organization also took over the relief work of all the private agencies. Thus with one agency dispensing relief, and that agency beholden to no political machine or privileged group, the task so far has been efficiently accomplished with a minimum of overhead expense. In fact, overhead charges, including service and administration supplies and the pay roll of the relief workers, have averaged only 6.8 per cent of the total outlay of the committee, all the rest of its funds going into food, milk, gas, shoes, and coal for the unemployed. This is probably a better record than can be shown by any similar organization anywhere in the country.

Toward the end of December the city's $3,000,000 was exhausted, and the Lloyd committee had to resort to panhandling on a large scale. In a public subscription drive which began in November, the sum of $10,404,446.71 was raised in cash and pledges. It is hoped that this new fund will last until May, but with the number of families being helped growing daily there is considerable doubt as to this. After that the city may get $2,500,000 from the State—if the State Supreme Court upholds the Talbot Act, which provides for the distribution of $10,000,000 in direct relief to the unemployed. And then? Philadelphia is not thinking, hardly dares think, beyond this point. The municipality is broke and cannot even pay its own employees. The men and women who conducted the United Campaign drive feel certain that very little additional money, if any, can be raised by public subscription. They say that private citizens have just about given their all, or at least those citizens have done so who intend to give anything toward helping the jobless.

And what if the need for relief should continue to grow, and the funds now in sight be exhausted before May? There is every likelihood that this will happen. In December, 1930, relief was being extended to 6,590 families by the original Unemployment Relief Committee. This figure grew until in April it reached 24,031; from this point it declined somewhat until August, when it again began to mount. In August there were 23,114 families on the dole; in September, 28,923; October, 31,584; November, 35,595; December, 47,779; and January, 55,643. Last week the total had swelled to 57,126. Where it will end, it is impossible to forecast. Every day brings new applicants to the relief stations. Of late these people have been of a distinctly better class, better, that is, in the sense that their standard of living had been much higher than that of the average worker; they had been well paid, had known many comforts and even luxuries, and had never before been in want. They were skilled artisans, professional people, men and women of the white-collar class. They had continued to depend upon the corner grocer, the church, and relatives for help until all these sources of aid had dried up and they had been forced to come to the Relief Committee, begging to be placed on the dole. Most of them had refused to come until every last scrap of bread had been eaten and every last chunk of coal burned. How many more families, too proud to ask for charity, do not come at all cannot even be guessed. Every day dozens of these

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families are turned up by relief workers in the field, or by neighbors who are too poor themselves to help but who cannot bear to see the people next door go hungry.

What the applicants get in the way of relief is all too meager. Approximately 77 per cent of the money expended goes into grocery orders; another 12 per cent for food; the remainder, bare pittances, for coal, shoes, and gas. No electric bills are paid, and the Lloyd committee has decided it cannot possibly undertake to meet rent bills, for this, it has been estimated, would add 25 per cent to the cost of relief and cut down the food distributed in corresponding measure. It is more essential that the unemployed at least get something to eat. Neither food nor money is directly distributed. Applicants are given grocery orders, the money value of which is determined by the number of persons in each family. The average family every week gets a grocery order worth approximately $4. These orders are honored by most of the stores of the city, who use them in meeting their obligations to the wholesale houses, and the wholesale dealers turn them into the Relief Committee for cash. Families with small children get in addition a weekly milk order. Obviously it takes a great deal of stretching to make $4 cover a week's food for a family of five.

What are the effects of depression—and the dole—on Philadelphia's unemployed? It is perhaps too early to tell; the real consequences may not be known for years, when the children now being brought up on starvation rations reach working age. Nevertheless, close students of the local problem see the physical energy and the nervous resistance of the jobless workers being slowly ground down. Each individual requires more care, more medical attention than he did a year ago. Dr. Jacob Billikopf, who as head of the Jewish Charities has carefully watched the present situation as it developed, is authority for the statement that "the 250,000 persons affected by unemployment today are suffering much more than 300,000 would have suffered a year ago, or 500,000 two years ago."

I could not possibly have talked with all the miserable families in the city. However, in company with different workers attached to the Relief Committee I did visit about thirty homes. Most of the homes were those of normally well-paid mechanics and building workers. I found bewilderment and confusion rather than discouragement or desperation. Not one of the many persons I talked to had really given up hope, but every one of them was rapidly drifting in that direction. All were heavily in debt, had borrowed to the limit on their insurance policies; some had sold much of their furniture, and would have sold more if they could have found buyers. The younger men spent most of their waking hours looking for odd jobs, but the rest were inclined rather to remain in the seclusion of their homes, visibly ashamed of their misfortune or else convinced that it was futile to look for work when there was no work to do. Inquiry revealed that temporary jobs invariably go to the younger men; the middle-aged and older men are simply not given a chance. The most discouraging sign I noted was the total lack of interest in outside activities on the part of all the men I talked with. Although workers for the Relief Committee have repeatedly urged them to seek recreation in study, at the public gymnasiums and playgrounds, or in the free museums and art galleries—printed lists of the various recreation centers, settlement houses, public evening schools, art schools, and museums, which can be attended without charge, have been distributed to the unemployed—these men will not take advantage of the opportunities offered. It seems to be the first instinct of the jobless man to want to withdraw from contact with normal society, in which he feels he no longer has a place. But this, while undoubtedly a result of the depression, cannot be put down as a consequence of the "soul-destroying" dole. I noted little evidence that the dispensation of charity was undermining the character of Philadelphia's unemployed. There was, of course, the man I found lying abed at two o'clock in the afternoon, who clearly felt that so long as other people were feeding him there really was no reason for him to look for work; and there were a number of families who appeared to have lost their sense of responsibility, and who probably would have shown more initiative in fending for themselves had they not known they would get their regular grocery orders at the end of the week.

Again, no positive sign of revolt was discernible, though admittedly it was difficult to get these men to speak frankly. They were afraid that whatever they had to say might prejudice their chances of obtaining continued relief. Nevertheless, an undercurrent of rebellion was noticeable. Strangely enough, most of the grumbling was directed not against the employers or the government, but against the churches. A skilled mechanic by the name of McCollian, a Roman Catholic, complained bitterly that the clergy did not appreciate the extreme plight of their parishioners. Five other families, all Protestants, had given up going to church because, as Mrs. Brown, wife of a cabinetmaker put it, "the church no longer means anything to us." A man named Johnson said that at least half the members of the congregation of his church were continuing to attend only in the hope that the church would be able to help them eke out the slim relief they get from the Lloyd committee. Only one family was openly in revolt. I reached the home of Mrs. Duffy, whose husband is a gardener, about thirty minutes after the constable had been there to serve an eviction notice. Mrs. Duffy cried throughout the interview. Her greatest worry was that her husband and three sons really meant to go out that evening to steal bread for themselves at the point of pistols. They had procured weapons and laid careful plans for their foraging expedition.

But there is no assurance that more Duffys will not turn to robbery, or that other jobless men will not rebel in other ways. Last June, before the city's $3,000,000 fund became available, all relief was suspended for three weeks. The stations were kept open and applications for relief continued to be taken, but toward the end of that period the relief workers in the stations had become seriously alarmed by the rising temper of the applicants. They spoke roughly, demanded food in no uncertain terms, and a few even threatened to take direct action. Should there be another suspension of relief, now that the misery has greatly increased, there is no telling what might happen. In anticipation of trouble the Philadelphia police force is undergoing special training in gas warfare and in the suppression of riots. According to the *Evening Bulletin,* 1,800 policemen have now had sufficient training "and could prove their skill at a moment's notice. The department is always ready for anything, particularly in hard times." So far it has been unnecessary to bring out the gas bombs and riot guns.

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Presidential Possibilities

II. Ritchie and No Regrets*

By GERALD W. JOHNSON

ALBERT CABELL RITCHIE, Governor of Maryland since time immemorial, treats his brain as a tool, not as a toy. With it he can do beautifully finished and accurate work; but he does not like to play with it.

And this is, perhaps, the basic reason why he has not run away with the Democratic nomination for the Presidency. For he has all the other trappings of a popular hero—an impressive bearing, a handsome face, a good voice, courage, ability, and honor. He has the face and figure of a Plumed Knight—but never a plume.

Present Ritchie in his official capacity with the stubbornest, knottiest sort of governmental problem, and he will think his way through it, smoothly, swiftly, accurately. But it never occurs to him to engage in a battle of wits for the sheer delight of intellectual exercise. There is in him none of the quality that inspired Theodore Roosevelt's resounding forays against objectives far outside the field of politics. A result is that Ritchie is not, like Roosevelt, adored by every mad fellow with a restless brain. Nor has he, like Wilson, made scholarship his business, so that he does not impress the populace with the extent of his learning. Highly intelligent as he is, his is a matter-of-fact intelligence.

Thus, while he takes the very highest rating as an administrator, he does not rank equally high as a popular leader. He can inspire confidence. He can, under the right circumstances, inspire enthusiasm, but not the shouting, camp-meeting brand of enthusiasm. No convention would ever be moved to sing "Onward, Christian Soldiers" as it nominated Ritchie. If the Democrats in Chicago next June get to the singing stage, Ritchie is sunk, for he is not the sort of candidate to appeal to a singing convention.

At that, he is no languid campaigner. Maryland, in Presidential elections a doubtful State, has elected him four times to the Governor's office, each time by a majority larger than the one he received before. The last time, in 1930, his majority broke all records for a candidate for Governor of Maryland. There is significance in the campaign slogan his managers chose for him on this occasion. It was "Ritchie or Regret." That is the way Maryland feels about it. Thousands of men who could have picked out a dozen candidates they liked better voted for Ritchie simply because they felt that no other man in public life would make as good a Governor. His appeal was to reason, not to emotion.

But it worked, and the fact that it worked is Maryland's excuse for offering him as Presidential timber. For Ritchie has done something more than simply administer admirably the affairs of a small and relatively insignificant State. He has introduced a new technique into American political practice, and has demonstrated that it will work. He has held the Governorship continuously for twelve years, and in not one of the twelve has he failed to make enemies; yet at each successive election his majority has continued to grow, eliminating any doubt of his political craftsmanship.

This technique can be summed up in a word—candor. In none of his four successful campaigns has Albert C. Ritchie obtained any man's vote under false pretenses. The outcome is that he has lighted no fires of resentment to smolder in the breasts of honest men who voted for him believing him other than he proved to be. On the contrary, he has obtained a powerful grip on the loyalty of sincere men. Neither as a candidate nor as Governor has he straddled, or equivocated, or evaded; even his mistakes have been patently honest mistakes, and therefore retrievable.

For instance, about four years ago certain minor employees of the State Roads Commission were engaged in steady peculation. Ritchie had named as head of the commission a man in whom he had all confidence. As an engineer the man deserved confidence, for he was good; but as an executive he was, unfortunately, less competent. The thieves were getting away with thousands, but he suspected nothing. A man who had been a political enemy of Ritchie for years got some inkling of the facts and proceeded to broadcast charges. Ritchie summoned the head of the commission, who assured him that all was well, whereupon the Governor jumped to the conclusion that the charges were purely political and proceeded to castigate the broadcaster in blistering terms. Unfortunately, though, the charges were true, and Ritchie found himself out on a very long limb.

But he saw and immediately took the only way out. With grim resolution he set to work to prosecute the thieves, and never rested until the last of them was behind prison bars. This did not recover the $400,000 they had stolen, to be sure, but it did satisfy the public sense of justice. Maryland, marking the long sentences inflicted, decided that there would not be much more stealing under this Governor, and voted for Ritchie more heavily than ever.

Once before he had denounced the wrong man. On the other occasion the victim was an official of the State University, who criticized the Governor and the legislature for what he considered their niggardliness toward the university. But on that occasion, also, Ritchie believed that the criticism had behind it another motive than sincere interest in the welfare of the institution. Probably his belief was wrong, but it was none the less profound, and his anger mounted accordingly. It is significant that the two most conspicuous errors in his career were both due to rage against what he believed to be the ancient political trick of employing a good cause to cover a selfish aim. Devious political trickery is one provocation under which the ordinarily cool, unemotional man is capable of blowing up with a deafening roar.

* The second of a series of articles on leading Presidential candidates. The third will appear next week.—EDITOR THE NATION.

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Maryland likes this forthright attitude, and with the passage of each successive Ritchie administration the State has liked it better and better. Maryland believes firmly that the country would like it, if the country could once be induced to try it. Maryland feels that if Ritchie were once elected, by ever so small a margin, at the end of four years he would be reelected practically unanimously. For while Ritchie never sets the boys howling with his flaming oratory, there is exhilaration in following a man who makes his words good, who refuses to promise what he can't perform, but who invariably performs what he promises.

What the candidacy of Ritchie offers the electorate is easily defined, but not so easily described. It is conservatism limited only by rigid honesty—intellectual as well as financial honesty. He has been subjected to the severe test of twelve years' continuous incumbency of the highest office in his State without exhibiting any symptoms of megalomania. His attitude toward his Presidential candidacy is typical of the man. His Presidential boom was formally launched at a dinner given by a Baltimore political club in January, and he began his speech at the dinner with these words: "Of course I would like to be President; who would not?"

There is Ritchie—honest enough to be honest with himself, as well as with the rest of the world, simple-minded enough to believe that the best way to protect his own dignity is to tell the truth, honorable enough to give his competitors warning that he will employ all fair means to secure the nomination. It is by no means certain that this is the best political method in the present circumstances, but it is Ritchie's method, and by it he will stand or fall.

His platform, as he outlined it in that speech, is a return to the Jeffersonian theory that that country is best governed which is least governed. But Ritchie is both intelligent and honest. He is aware that the world has moved since the sage of Monticello breathed his last, and he knows that while the theory of Jeffersonianism may remain unaltered, its practice in 1932 is far indeed from what it was in 1801. His discussion of the dole illuminates his whole political philosophy. He dislikes and distrusts the dole system, not because it is expensive, and not from any hypocritical fear of "pauperizing" the poor, but because it means "a bureaucracy so great that it would outbureaucrat all our other bureaucracies put together."

Nevertheless, strongly as he opposes it, he envisages the possibility that it may be inevitable. For his philosophy embraces a greater thing than any theory of government, Jeffersonian or Hamiltonian, and that is justice: "Industry benefits from labor in times of prosperity, and economic justice demands that some adequate provision be made for labor when adversity comes. But if industry does not fulfil its part in this obligation, then I very much fear that the pressure on government may finally force it to step in."

On international affairs his viewpoint is flatly, finally, and completely American. The war debts, for example, cannot be canceled because "if the foreign nations do not pay the money, the American people must." How blood is to be squeezed out of the foreign turnip he did not explain; it is probably one of those questions on which he has no views, because his lack of intellectual curiosity has not led him to think through a problem which has not directly concerned him as yet. But by the same token he did not commit himself to the existing debt settlements. He would not cancel a dollar in the interest of any foreign nation; but if anyone can show him convincing reasons for believing that softening the terms of settlement will subserve the interest of this country, he is free to move in that direction.

The thickest and longest and strongest plank in the Ritchie platform, however, is his insistence that the government be taken out of business. This is his old war-cry, but it is interesting to observe how it is slowly being modified with the passage of time. Even as lately as four years ago it was simply the doctrine of laissez faire with practically nothing else. But since then Ritchie has been edging over, until this year he has almost reached the point of view of those who hold that the only way to take the government out of business is first to eject business from the government.

To a large section of the population Ritchie is known solely as the wettest of all the men frequently mentioned as Democratic possibilities. The more fanatical drys are unable to believe that he is wet because he is a champion of local self-government, not the other way about. These people overlook the fact that although he is wet, he has signed more local prohibition laws than any other Governor of Maryland. Although he has consistently opposed the adoption of a State Volstead law, he has never objected to the enactment of local prohibitory statutes for the benefit of counties or municipalities in Maryland that desire them. Many such laws have been enacted during his incumbency of the Governor's office, and he has promptly signed them.

Doubtless what the country needs is a candidate with the tongue of Wilson and the integrity of Ritchie, a flame in the campaign and a rock in office, a man who can stir the voters to a delirium of enthusiasm, yet never defeat their hopes. But in the absence of such a marvel, Maryland ventures to offer Ritchie. He is not the flaming leader of a crusade. He can lead, but he cannot flame. He is the fireproof candidate, the asbestos man. But he is an essentially conservative man who yet holds intelligence as more important than conservatism, a cautious man who nevertheless values honor above caution, a politician of high skill, yet one whose bag of tricks does not include either lying or dodging. A man of this type could make himself extremely useful in the White House.

As regards all the minor qualifications, Ritchie is amply equipped. Perhaps he doesn't look quite as much like a President as Harding did, but he is a fine-looking man, at that; and Harding, indeed, was a shade too perfect to be credible. Ritchie has the bearing of the old Southern aristocracy at its best; and whatever may be one's opinion of the social value of that aristocracy, it did carry itself with grace and dignity. There is a glint of humor in the Maryland Governor's make-up—not enough to convert him into a jokesmith, but too much to allow him ever to aspire to convert the Trinity into a quartet, no matter how great his success in earthly affairs may be. He is courteous to a fault in his personal relations and wholly devoid of affectation.

The Maryland Free State presents his name to the country not without dubiety. But the doubt is as to the country's readiness to appraise such a man at his true value, not at all as to that value. The Maryland delegation in the convention will vote for him to the bitter end with no mental reservations; for, no matter whether the country realizes it or not, Maryland is profoundly convinced that voting for Ritchie involves no regrets.

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Free Air

A Strictly Imaginary Educational Broadcast

By JAMES RORTY

GOOD evening, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Great Radio Audience: I am speaking to you tonight through the courtesy of the Universal Food, Candy, Cigarette, and Gadget Company, makers of Cheeryoats, Wet Smack Bars, Old Mold Cigarettes, and Sweetie Washing Machines. My subject is education by radio. I shall try to explain to you why the National Committee on Education by Radio, representing nine educational associations, including the National Education Association, is sponsoring the Fess bill, which is now pending in Congress. The officials of the Planetary Broadcasting Company are opposed to the Fess bill. Its passage would, they think, affect adversely both their own commercial interests and the interests of other companies with which they are closely affiliated. They are, nevertheless, devoted to the principle of free speech, and loyal to their stewardship of the great national resource of the air. Accordingly they have offered the use of their facilities to me without charge, in order that I may place before you the issues which you, representing public opinion, the ultimate authority in a free democratic country like ours, must some day decide.

If you will have patience, I shall read the Fess bill in full. It is very brief.

> Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled that . . . not less than 15 per cent, reckoned with due weight to all factors determining effective service, of the radio broadcasting facilities which are or may become subject to the control of and allocation by the Federal Radio Commission, shall be reserved for educational broadcasting exclusively and allocated, when and if applications are made therefor, to educational agencies of the federal or State governments and educational institutions chartered by the United States or by the respective States or Territories.

Who and what are these educational broadcasting stations that are claiming 15 per cent of the air? Most of you, probably, have never heard them or even heard *of* them, and I don't blame you. You see, ever since the passage of the Radio Act of 1927, and even before that, the educational broadcasting stations, operated chiefly by the State universities, have been running on flat tires. The air is free, all right, but try and get some of it. The records of the Federal Radio Commission show that in May, 1927, when the present radio law went into effect, there was a total of ninety-four educational institutions licensed to broadcast. On March 9, 1931, the number had been reduced to forty-nine. At present, out of a total of 440 units available to the United States, educational stations occupy only 23.16 units, or one-sixteenth of the available frequencies. During the same period, however, educational broadcasts, largely over commercial stations, have increased from almost nothing to almost a tenth of the total times used by all broadcasting stations now on the air. Harold A. LaFount, Federal Radio Commissioner, is authority for these figures. Commissioner LaFount also points out that although the forty-nine educational institutions now licensed to broadcast have been assigned a total of 3,669.2 hours per week, they have actually used only 1,229.28 hours, or one-third of the time which has been made available to them, and that of this time only 283.85 hours per week have been devoted to education. He further declares that the reduction in the number of educational stations since 1927 has occurred by virtue of the voluntary assignment or surrender by educational stations of their licenses, because they were unable financially to maintain them, or because they did not have sufficient program material to continue operation.

Commissioner LaFount believes, with the majority of his colleagues on the Federal Radio Commission, that the status of education on the air is healthy, and that the educators ought to be happy. I am here to tell you that the status of education on the air is not healthy and that the educators—their militant wing, at least—are not happy. On the contrary, they are bitter, rebellious, and determined. Let us get back of Commissioner LaFount's figures and see what actually has been happening.

To begin with, the Radio Act of 1927 reserves our national quota of broadcasting channels as public property and licenses their use, subject to revocation practically at will by the Federal Radio Commission. This body has discretionary power, subject to court review, to interpret and apply the principle of "public interest, convenience, and necessity" which the law embodies. But as at present constituted, the members of the Federal Radio Commission are not educators. They are business men, and they regard the interests of business as paramount in our civilization. From this point of view the right and proper disposition of every genie, such as radio, that pops out of the laboratory bottle of modern science is to put him to work making money for whoever happens to hold the neck of the bottle. If he makes enough money for somebody, then, in some mysterious way, "progress" and "civilization" will be served. This, I say, is the point of view of the business man, and it is the application of this point of view, more or less sympathetically aided by the Federal Radio Commission, which is responsible for the present preposterous and imbecile condition of radio broadcasting in this country. Does this seem strong language? Forgive me, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Great Radio Audience. Admittedly, I am neither a business man nor an inventor. From where I sit, as a simple naive professor, the radio looks to me like the most revolutionary instrument of communication ever placed in human hands; it seems to me that its free and creative use, not to make money, but to further education and culture and to inform public opinion, is perhaps the most crucial problem with which our civilization is confronted. But, of course, I didn't invent the confounded gadget, and I may be wrong. Let us listen to the man who did—Dr. Lee De Forest, who, more than any other single American, has been associated with the science of radio

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from its beginning. A while back Dr. De Forest spent some time listening to what the business men have been doing to his child. Here is what he said:

> Why should anyone want to buy a radio, or new tubes for an old set? Nine-tenths of what one can hear is the continual drivel of second-rate jazz, sickening crooning by degenerate sax players (original or transcripted), interrupted by blatant sales talk, meaningless but maddening station announcements, impudent commands to buy or try, actually superposed over a background of what might alone have been good music.
>
> Get out into the sticks, away from your fine symphony-orchestra pick-ups, and listen for twenty-four hours to what 80 per cent of American listeners have to endure. Then you'll learn what is wrong with the radio industry. It isn't hard times. It is broadcasters' greed—which is worse, much worse—and like T. B. grows continually worse, until patient radio public dies. That's all the trouble. Simple, isn't it?

You know, it's strange, but Dr. De Forest talks almost like a professor. He reminds me of the late Professor Vernon L. Parrington, who, in the last volume of his "Main Currents in American Thought," remarked that science in this country had become "the drab and slut of industrialism." This again is harsh language. In justice to science, it may be granted that the lady is more sinned against than sinning. Yet it remains true that in competing for her favors, the educators, who are notoriously platonic in their enthusiasms anyway, have been at a marked disadvantage. Take, for example, this "voluntary" surrender of the air which Commissioner LaFount is so cheerful about. What has actually happened is that the educational stations have steadily been given less desirable frequencies; they have then been asked to divide their time with some commercial broadcaster; they have been obliged to meet some new regulation involving costly equipment—often, as the educators themselves admit, a regulation essentially right in itself, but applied with such suddenness as not to allow time for adjustment in the educational budget; finally, by the time they had got together the money for technical and program improvements, they would be obliged to spend it on lawyers' fees and on trips to Washington to defend their right to broadcast at all.

While, for these and other reasons, the voice of independent education on the air has been fading, the voice of education sponsored by such companies as my host tonight and by the commercial broadcasting companies themselves in sustaining programs has been rapidly swelling in volume. Many of our most eminent educators have, tentatively at least, accepted this substitution. Some of them serve on the Advisory Council of the National Broadcasting Company; others are on the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, which includes in its membership not only educators and publicists but also representatives of the two great broadcasting chains—National Broadcasting Company and Columbia Broadcasting Company. This organization is financed jointly by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the Carnegie Corporation. Its announced objectives are primarily fact-finding and fact-dissemination, and it has made and published valuable studies of both the technical and social problems of broadcasting. More recently it has sponsored educational broadcasts given over commercial stations, the first of the series being by Dr. Robert A. Millikan, who is president of this National Council. The commercial broadcasters greeted the formation of the National Council with enthusiasm; they have, in fact, repeatedly declared their willingness to give the educators all the free time on the air they can use, when and if the educators come prepared with educational programs which "do not bore too great a proportion of *their* audiences too much."

What do they mean—"*their* audiences"? Our national quota of radio frequencies is public property under the law, and these broadcasters are licensed to use assigned frequencies, subject to revocation practically at will by the Federal Radio Commission. I assert that they are using this public property, not in the "public interest, convenience, and necessity," but in their own private commercial interest and that of the commercial advertisers whom they serve. For example, what public interest, convenience, or necessity is served by the disingenuous superlatives which are lavished night after night by my host, the Universal Food, Candy, Cigarette, and Gadget Corporation, on Cheeryoats, Wet Smack Bars, Old Mold Cigarettes, and Sweetie Washing Machines? If you really wanted to know the truth about these things you would demand that disinterested government experts from such departments as Public Health and the Bureau of Standards broadcast a genuine educational program which would, incidentally, debunk nine-tenths of the radio advertising now on the air. If, in addition, you want entertainment, including jazz, I suggest that you pay for it straight by means of a tax imposed on receiving sets, as is done in England and in Europe, and will shortly be done in Canada if the recommendations of the government radio commission are followed.

Do not imagine that you are not now paying for what you get and paying high. As taxpayers, you are paying directly the $444,179.94 annual budget of the Federal Radio Commission, most of which is spent in futile attempts to "regulate" the existing commercial chaos. As cigarette smokers, gum chewers, gadget users, and antiseptic garglers, you are paying indirectly the total budget of all the broadcasting stations, which is estimated to be over $75,000,000 a year. This total is more, far more, than is paid by the radio listeners in all the countries of Europe combined. All you really get free is the efforts of philanthropic organizations like the National Committee and the National Council to inject some sort of civilized decency into the absurd situation which has resulted from your failure to make representative government represent your true interests.

Do you realize, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Great Radio Audience, that your ears and minds are offered for sale to the highest bidder by profit-motivated corporations which have no title to what they sell and no title to the medium they use except squatters' rights which, if contested, they will defend in the courts? Do you imagine for a moment that education can permanently function as an appendage of toothpaste- and cigarette-sponsored jazz and vaudeville? Do you suppose that your views, your preferences, your rights, can make any headway at all against the economic determinism which obliges the commercial broadcaster to sell his most valuable time to advertisers, to permit the advertiser to cajole, bore, deceive, and insult the intelligence of his hearers to the limit? Do you imagine that even if educational institutions were able to *pay* for the facilities of commercial stations, instead of accepting their compromised and qualified gifts of free air, educational programs would thereby obtain

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a complete right of way? Even so conservative an expert as Mr. H. V. Kaltenborn, editor of the *Newspaper of the Air,* does not think so. As he points out, commercial stations would insist that the programs must interest most of their listeners, lest competing stations win them away; they would also refuse to offend important advertisers by denying them the right to purchase popular periods on particular days. Finally, although Mr. Kaltenborn does not make this point, they would ultimately be obliged to censor any educational broadcast which affected adversely the interests of their advertising clients.

Admittedly, Ladies and Gentlemen, the Fess bill, even if passed, would not represent a complete or permanently satisfactory solution of the problem of converting broadcasting to intelligent social uses. It would, however, drive a wide breach into the existing system of commercial exploitation, and prepare the ground for the recapture by the people of the free air which they have never legally surrendered.

Birth Control Not Enough for China!*

By AGNES SMEDLEY

Shanghai, January 5

IF one wishes to develop a theory about the need for birth control and its possible effects upon society, China affords one of the most fertile fields imaginable. Many Chinese intellectuals have already developed this theory and, bolstered up with formidable figures, have advocated birth control as the cure for overpopulation, famine, poverty, ignorance. They tell us of the 500,000,000 Chinese, of the famines that carry off millions, of frightful infant mortality, of illiteracy as high as 98 per cent, of a destitution that has no parallel on earth except in other subjected Asiatic lands such as India and Indo-China.

But pure theory like this comes up against many practical facts and is no more sound than are the arguments of automobile firms who see no reason why each Chinese family should not have an automobile. Believing in and working for birth control as I do in China, still I oppose birth-control advocates such as these. There has come a time in China, as in all Asia, when birth control, unless preceded and linked with a social revolutionary program, is reactionary and counter-revolutionary. For many of these Chinese birth-control advocates today see in birth control a barricade against revolution—a mirage to deceive the masses or a new way of controlling them.

Let us take a few social facts, in the light of which we can and must consider the theory of birth control as a solution for China's problems, a consideration of which is absolutely essential. I personally have been much among the Chinese peasants, in the northern, central, and southern parts of the country—and the peasants constitute from 80 to 90 per cent of the Chinese population. Nothing on earth can describe their poverty. In the south it is doubtful if most of them have ever possessed a pair of simple Chinese shoes. Everywhere their huts are bare of everything except the most naked means of the most naked existence. If tenants, they must share 50 per cent of their crops with the landlord, and sometimes more. If owners of a tiny bit of land, they are periodically stripped of all excess worldly goods by government taxes and by the never-ending requisitions of the militarists. In some places as many as sixty different taxes are imposed upon them, and in still other places these taxes have been collected "in advance" up to 1939. What amounts to actual serfdom exists in many places in China, some of them within a few hours of Shanghai. When Chiang Kai-shek or any other militarist needs beasts of burden to carry military supplies to the front or to dig trenches under a hail of machine-gun fire from a rival general, he captures peasants and workers in the villages and cities, binds them together by the arms or the neck with ropes, and marches them off, to receive a bowl of rice a day and to be left behind wherever they happen to fall. Except in the Soviet territories of China, where the peasants have guns in their hands and have their own red army, the Chinese peasants are utterly defenseless. In other places they are stripped so naked of every reserve in food and money that the slightest dislocation—a drought, a flood, a locust cloud, or a new civil war—results in wholesale deaths.

There is a certain broad historical social tendency in China which must form the background of all our considerations of any problem or any movement. All kinds of studies already made show that the tendency is for the landowning peasant to become a tenant via the route of usury. To meet his obligations or the needs of life he borrows from the landlord, who is landlord, money-lender, government official, and business man, all in one. Paying as high as 35 per cent interest on money, the peasant loses his land to the landlord-usurer and becomes a tenant; then the tendency is to further bankruptcy and dispossession. He becomes a land laborer; he goes himself or sends some of his sons into the army to earn their bowl of rice; or sends them drifting to the city to seek work in factories or as wharf or rikisha coolies. If he remains on the land, he has a number of courses open to him: serfdom, to be a victim of famine when famine strikes his land, or banditry—or, if he is class-conscious and militant and is in a district where these things count, he can join the Soviet forces and fight for a new social order. This is the social background. In the seats of government in China sit men who are landlords, business men, bankers, militarists, and foreign imperialists, all intensifying this social process, all considering the peasants as a dangerous element to be exterminated when they attempt to defend themselves.

Within the cities the conditions are no better. Because of China's subject position, Chinese industries do not develop quickly enough to absorb the bankrupt peasants that press upon the city. The factory workers are not yet entirely weaned from the land. The militant labor movement that developed down to 1927 has been almost crushed by the government during the past five years, and thousands of militant workers have been shot, beheaded, or strangled to death. Shanghai, the center of combined foreign and Chi-

* Miss Smedley's article arrived too late for *The Nation's* birth control issue, for which it was intended. We print it now as an interesting commentary on the situation at Shanghai.—Editor The Nation.

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nese capitalism, with a gangster organization sharing control of the labor movement with the Kuomintang, has been one of the centers of this terror. Unemployment and the pressing body of bankrupt peasants looking for work, combined with the onslaughts of the ruling classes, have kept the conditions of life of the industrial worker at a very low level. Shanghai is a city of primitive, dangerous mat huts and of jammed, dangerous tenements in which workers crowd like flies, a whole family sharing a tiny room, and perhaps a whole family of father, mother, and three or four little children all working but earning hardly enough to keep life in their bodies. The cruel feudal mentality of the Chinese ruling class has been reinforced by the mentality and methods of American-educated men who admire American capitalist methods. Only counter-revolutionary organizations like the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. or superstitious religions like Christianity could openly work among the laborers.

It is just these organizations, just such individuals, who have advocated birth control as the solution for China's problems or who have drawn up paper factory laws which are not to be applied in any particular. Why? Because behind such programs, such methods, lies the attempt to deceive the masses and stave off the revolution. These people advocate everything on earth to keep the workers from seeking a fundamental solution for their desperate situation. Any old thing goes to keep the present system on its rotten legs. I have talked with all shades of birth-control advocates in China. One Christian woman spoke of birth control as an "approach" to the workers, to be followed by suitable Christian doctrine. Others, aping the Pope and certain American reactionaries, consider birth control a sin—that is, unless the "better classes" use it in secret. One Chinese woman physician told me that she would not give birth-control knowledge to a woman unless she had first investigated her home life to learn if she was married or unmarried, if she was moral or immoral, if she had children or too few children. Whatever the argument has seemed to be, it has always been basically the fear of the Chinese people felt by the ruling classes, and an attempt to keep them under control.

The experiences in actual birth-control work in China have been far from encouraging, although they are at least socially enlightening. From everything I have observed and learned among the peasants, birth control among them is absolutely impossible today. If you asked a peasant in China to spend five dollars for contraceptives, he would consider you utterly insane. And you *would* be insane indeed. For they do not even have enough food, and their very right to existence depends upon the will of the landlord, official, militarist, capitalist. Furthermore, they cannot read. But they can, without reading, see that the landlord, the official, the militarist live in fine houses, give banquets that cost more than they can earn in a lifetime, wear silk gowns, and send their children to expensive educational institutions at home and abroad.

As for the city workers: in one small Shanghai clinic in a factory district, where birth control has been tried, we have spent within six months the sum of two hundred American dollars, and received free contraceptive supplies from America that must have cost four or five hundred gold dollars. With this outlay we have supplied contraceptive information and supplies to about two dozen women only! Yet there are 800,000 workers in Shanghai, of whom at least one-third are women. In other words, China's poverty is a very, very expensive thing—too expensive to be cured by such means as this.

There is, however, one field for birth-control work in China: that is, among the upper, middle, and lower-middle classes. The women of these classes suffer (as do all others) from what women abroad suffer—never-ending fear of pregnancy, physical exhaustion due to too frequent pregnancy or childbirth, abortions caused by the widespread use of old Chinese medicines, and husbands who seek other women outside the home. The women of these classes can read, and they have enough money to buy the necessary contraceptives. All they desire is the knowledge of the best methods. There is no law against giving birth-control information. With such women there is a big field for the spread of birth-control literature.

But while these classes are important, they constitute an infinitesimal fraction of the Chinese people. For the poverty-ridden workers and peasants of China, or 95 per cent of the people, birth control can solve nothing in the present stage of development. To say anything else would be to lie. The Chinese masses will have first to establish the right to existence before they can claim the right to knowledge. Birth control in China, apart from the revolution, is meaningless, reactionary, and nothing but a deceptive theory in the hands of the ruling classes. With a fundamental revolutionary society and government, birth control would be one of the great forces of advancement and of freedom for women.

East St. Louis Studies Americanism

By C. R. F. SMITH

DURING the past several weeks, East St. Louis, Illinois, has been having a little lesson in Americanism—considering the best rather than the worst connotation of that much-abused word. Scarcely two months ago, if a man of Communist leanings wished to get together with a few friends of like mind, he found it desirable to meet with them quietly in some out-of-the-way corner of the city, and even then he was taking at least his freedom in his hands. Today, when he wishes to engage in a little discussion of the same subject, he may gather openly with his friends in the respectable Trades Council Hall. Thanks to the activities of the St. Louis Civil Liberties Committee, an enlightened press, an aroused public, and a straight-talking circuit judge, the East St. Louis police are now following a more liberal interpretation of the constitutional right of their fellow-citizens peaceably to assemble.

When City Judge Borders, on January 22, dismissed the case against Ray Wycoff, twenty-seven-year-old resident of East St. Louis, who was arrested by police after they had broken up a street meeting last August, the judge cleaned the slate of a series of cases arising out of police interference with alleged Communist meetings in the community. Wycoff had been arrested on a charge of disturbing the peace, because he was reported to have said, as the police were re-

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tiring from the scene of their little performance: "Go to hell, you flat-footed cop." Obviously, Wycoff's remark could hardly be classified as expedient just at the moment, but the police felt even more strongly about the matter. Louis Martin Wolf, representing the St. Louis Civil Liberties Committee, came to the rescue as defense counsel, and Wycoff was released on appeal bond. Judge Borders was not so sure that anyone's peace had been disturbed, unless it was the police officer's, and as there was no evidence as to the condition of the officer's feet—they might have been quite flat—the judge settled the matter quickly by taking it out of the hands of the jury, dismissing the case, and discharging the defendant.

But Wycoff's case was an anti-climax. The event which turned the spotlight on the status of constitutional liberty in East St. Louis had occurred on the evening of December 11, when a large force of East St. Louis police and detectives, led by Chief of Police Leahy without a warrant, raided a private residence, confiscated papers, and arrested sixteen persons—four Negro men, five Negro women, and seven white men—whom the police suspected of holding a Communist meeting. The raid was summarized briefly and evaluated succinctly in the following editorial, which appeared a few days later in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, after the facts had had a chance to crystallize:

Notes on a Raid

A raid by a squad of East St. Louis police last Friday evening on a residence where a meeting of alleged Communists was being held suggests the following points:

1. It shattered the First Amendment to the Constitution, guaranteeing citizens the right peaceably to assemble.

2. Conducted without a search warrant, it violated the Fourth Amendment, guaranteeing the right of citizens to be secure in their homes against unreasonable searches and seizures.

3. It was brutally conducted. The police rushed into the house firing off tear-gas shells as if they had come upon a nest of dangerous criminals.

4. It was terribly bungled. One police officer was struck in the face with a wad from a shotgun and, with two others, suffered from the gas. Another fell dead, presumably from heart disease.

5. Three of the raiding police figured in the famous police-blotter alibi of the Shelton brothers at their trial for the Kincaid bank robbery in 1926, which was denounced as a fake by the State's Attorney. Police who go to the bat for gangsters can hardly be depended upon to respect the constitutional rights of citizens.

Being unlawful, stupid, and tragic, the raid runs the entire gamut. It sets a record.

Let it not be thought, however, that the East St. Louis police were without defenders. The Cahokia Mound Chapter (Cahokia Mound, Illinois,) of the Daughters of the American Revolution rose nobly to the occasion and sent a letter of commendation to Chief of Police Leahy. "Your fearless raid on Communists with the successful arrest of leaders," the letter said, "was very gratifying to the Cahokia Mound Chapter, D. A. R. The full support of the Cahokia Mound Chapter in wiping out communism is thoroughly yours."

In the justice-court trial which followed the raid, the defendants were charged with vagrancy. D. J. Bental of Chicago, representing the International Labor Defense, the chief defense lawyer, attempted to show that the raid was illegal, since the meeting was held in a private house and the raid was made without a warrant. Bental asked one of the policemen who participated in the raid if he had a warrant.

"I didn't need a warrant," the policeman replied.

"Why?" Bental asked.

The Assistant State's Attorney then objected to the questioning of the defense "on the ground that it is argumentative, silly, and asinine." The objection was sustained.

Justice of the Peace J. C. Brady sentenced N. P. Logue, one of the defendants, to sixty days in jail on a charge of vagrancy, in spite of Logue's testimony that he had been a resident of East St. Louis for thirty-four years, that he had worked as a steamfitter since 1920, that he was a union member, and that he was employed both at the time of the raid and the day before the trial. Three defendants accepted pleas of guilty and were sentenced to six months in jail, but their sentences were stayed on their promises to keep away from Communist meetings. The cases against the other defendants were continued and later dismissed.

During Logue's trial one Morris Charney was arrested on charges of inciting to riot. The officer who dragged him from the courtroom reported that he had overheard Charney make a derogatory comment on the proceeding. Bond was set at $5,000, in default of which Charney was then held in jail.

Attorney Wolf, of the St. Louis Civil Liberties Committee, representing Logue and Charney, asked for writs of habeas corpus. As a result of this action, the climax came on January 8 in circuit court at Belleville, Illinois, when Circuit Judge Henry G. Miller granted the writs of habeas corpus and delivered a strong indictment of police methods in handling the whole affair.

> The arrest of these men [declared the judge] comprises the most dastardly act ever perpetrated by the East St. Louis police department. I happened to be on the streets of East St. Louis at the time of the Logue trial. I noticed that the police department had every man they could summon in the middle of Main Street in front of the court where the trial was being held. They were armed with every type of weapon they had at their disposal, acting as if the world was about to be plunged into a riot.
>
> With Justice Brandeis of the Supreme Court I say that we Americans have more to fear from lawless acts of law officers than from others who may be planning cursory acts with the purpose of executing them.
>
> Such action on the part of the East St. Louis police department makes this a time for strong language. The arrest of these men was contradictory to the traditions of the American Constitution. I know of no occasion when police may invade a home to get they know not whom, guessing at the reason for which they will make the arrest. It is conceded that there were no warrants on which to make the raid.

Peace reigns again in East St. Louis as the mantle of constitutional liberty now rests gracefully on its shoulders. And across the bridge, on the Missouri side, residents of St. Louis who wish to discuss communism may attend a series of weekly open forums which are being held in one of the branch libraries under the auspices of the Communist League of America, announcement of which series appeared openly in the St. Louis *Star* on January 8, 1932.

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In the Driftway

NOT for a long time has the Drifter felt like writing a diatribe. Indeed, looking up the word in the dictionary, he finds that it means "an acrimonious or invective harangue; a strain of abusive or railing language; a philippic," and it sounds very tiring. But lately, when he was dutifully occupied with thoughts of George Washington, he chanced to see a picture of Washington's face cut on Lookout Mountain, and the sight of it almost made him equal to a diatribe in all its various meanings. It seems an inoffensive enough mountain, and why the face of it should be scarred and pitted into the supposed likeness of a long-suffering great man, the Drifter cannot for the life of him see. Nor will the rocks be adorned only with the Father of His Country; General Lee will be there and his horse Traveler, and no doubt General Grant and Cal Coolidge and Herbert Hoover, and their various mounts, and perhaps the yacht Mayflower, and President Harding's little green house on K Street, and the Senate Office Building, and maybe even a couple of Senators themselves. Once the mania for monuments has seized the mind of man, there is no telling where it will stop. The Drifter would like hastily to say that he means no discourtesy to his friend Gutzon Borglum, the sculptor whose chisels are cutting the mountain's face. Poor Mr. Borglum is a worker like the Drifter or any of his readers, and since he cuts stone for a living, he must needs cut it where the orders lie. But if the monument makers would like to see a mountain carved cunningly in the likeness of the human physiognomy, let them look at Smugglers Notch in Vermont; and if they would like to see a good portrait of General Washington, let them consult the numerous Gilbert Stuarts in various parts of the country. And let it go at that.

* * * * *

WHILE he is diatribing, the Drifter may as well mention the matter of putting monuments in public parks. It is now planned to place the replica of Mount Vernon in Prospect Park, Brooklyn, and the replica of some other famous Washington building—probably the one-hundred-and-ninetieth Washington's headquarters—in poor old Bryant Park, New York. It is not enough that Bryant Park should have been visited with a subway excavation for more months than one can remember. It must now suffer from a replica. And Prospect Park, a really lovely green oasis in a desert of brick and wood and stone, must include part of the desert itself, a small Mount Vernon for its grass seekers to trip over.

* * * * *

WHENEVER the Drifter thinks of city parks he thinks of London's green and pleasant squares, set unexpectedly and frequently all about the city. Plane trees grow in them but no replicas. They are not strange to grass—real grass, not the synthetic rubber product that we were lately threatened with, and not hard-packed earth with a spear or two of muddy brown now and then. The Drifter wishes that the habit of green squares could take American cities. Meanwhile, he has a suggestion for the monument makers. Let them carve General Washington on the real Mount Vernon; or let them, now that Lookout Mountain is so completely given over to the monumentists, place all the replicas on the top of the rocky cliff and give them a gentle push. They will then slide disastrously down to the bottom, erasing, as they slide, the General, his horse, his aides de camp, and all the rest. The sculptor could be rewarded with a handsome pension; the monumentists could exile themselves to Berlin's Tiergarten; and everybody else would find himself greatly relieved and infinitely happier, particularly

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Mr. Buell Disagrees

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your editorial No War with Japan in the issue of March 2 is an example of the flabby logic which at one time was the monopoly of the perverted nationalist. You do not seem to be disturbed by the fact that a war is already in existence which is bringing misery to thousands of people. To be true to its humanitarian principles and to enlightened self-interest, *The Nation* should support a program "to stop war" no matter where it is found.

Yet in the same editorial protesting against war you state: "It is hardly to be supposed that Washington would sit idly by while the Japanese" tread upon the "sacred principle" of the Open Door in China. Does not such a sentence invite Washington to mobilize its forces against Japan? The dangers of this policy of threats which *The Nation* thus paradoxically supports can be averted only if the United States fully cooperates with the League of Nations in carrying out Article 16 of the Covenant. It is inconceivable that Japan, which already has its hands full in China, would on account of an international boycott declare war upon the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy. Already the world-wide discussion stimulated by the Lowell-Baker boycott petition has profoundly affected Japanese leaders, who had remained indifferent to "moral suasion." If the nations of the world stand together in preventing the Japanese military machine from scrapping the Washington treaties, the anti-war pact, and the League Covenant, they will deal a vital blow to the institution of war and create an atmosphere which should immeasurably facilitate the solution of the reparation, disarmament, and other acute problems confronting the world. On the contrary, if these nations follow the advice of your editorial and cynically trade with the aggressor, the peace institutions built up with so much difficulty during the last twelve years will be destroyed, and all hope for disarmament and security must disappear.

New York, February 29 RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

Registration of Aliens

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The proposed bills now before the Congress providing for the registration of aliens cannot be defended, They are a step in the direction of bureaucracy and arbitrary power. In the discussion of these bills there will be an attempt made to confuse the issue and to raise the question whether the saturation-point for immigrants has been reached. Obviously these bills have no relation to the problem of a future immigration policy. Arguments will be made by those who believe that our immigration policy in the past has been too lenient, and they will

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contend that these registration bills are a means of curing what they consider to have been a mistaken policy in the past. It requires no argument to show that this position is both illogical and unfair. It does not require the services of a seer to predict that the aliens who have entered this country illegally are not going to register and subject themselves to immediate deportation. The proposed bills will not accomplish what they intend to accomplish, but they will be very effective in subjecting law-abiding, legally admitted aliens to constant espionage, intimidation, blackmail, and extortion, and will furnish bigoted employers and their hired gunmen an admirable weapon in times of labor disturbance. As a result of the war psychosis, which still continues, we have already had too much intolerance and too great an infringement of personal liberty. There is no compelling need for such legislation at the present time.

Lexington, Ky., February 10 FORREST REVERE BLACK

Our Trained Reserves

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In *The Nation* for February 3 there appears an interesting article on the present Geneva conference. Mr. Wainhouse mentions that the United States possesses the professional type of military personnel while France, Japan, and other countries have conscript armies. His articles, including the one appearing February 10, would lead one to believe that the systems of military preparedness in our country and France are so different that establishing limitations on trained reserves would only affect the latter nation. However, our National Guard and our Reserve Officers constitute a trained reserve in this country, and there should be some basis for regulating the whole system of trained reserves if adequate precautions against military competition are to be taken.

Whether a nation has a conscript army or depends on draft legislation and trained officers, the problem is practically the same. Until trained reserves of all the great Powers are adequately controlled by international agreement, military competition will continue. To ignore these matters and confine ourselves to limitations of regular standing armies, which probably will be the result of the Geneva conference, will mean an avoidance of national problems at the expense of international safety.

Austin, Tex., February 9 ROLLAND BRADLEY

From the Gayety Theater

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Being a constant reader of *The Nation* I was very much surprised to read in your issue of February 10 the article headed Minneapolis Morals. I am herewith inclosing a copy of the letter sent to Mr. Sime Silverman, editor of *Variety*, which is self-explanatory.

> MY DEAR MR. SILVERMAN: You can well imagine my consternation and surprise when, six weeks after the dismissal of our men's chorus, I noticed and read on the front page of *Variety* the following: "As runway attractions the masculine group failed to lure sufficient feminine trade to warrant retention despite the free exposure of manly figures up and down the orchestra gangplank."
>
> Now, Mr. Silverman, we have no runway or orchestra gangplank in this theater, nor has there been one here for five years. Then this article, written by your correspondent, whom we have not seen in this theater to witness a single performance in the eight years that I have known him, further states that the police had okayed stripping with the use of a dark spotlight. Now while this may not sound so bad in *Variety* when read by show people, it sounds very different when a magazine like *The Nation* in its February 10 edition reprints in full the article from your magazine under the caption Minneapolis Morals, and is read by local residents of this city who do not know what kind of shows we are giving and also by city officials; it is bound to blot into oblivion all the care and watchfulness that we have bestowed on our shows, so as to meet with the requirements and approval of our city officials, and to cause them to lose the confidence they have displayed in us by allowing us to operate, as well as placing in jeopardy the means of earning a livelihood for the people we have working here, in the event that this article is taken for granted to be the true facts by the authorities.
>
> I am writing this to you only to acquaint you with the injustice done us, and to your paper, by your correspondent, for reasons which I am at a loss to understand.

Minneapolis, February 9 HARRY HIRSH

Better Movies

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A small group is interested in forming a permanent society in New York City to show, once a month, the best American and foreign films. The aims of the society would be the revival of important films of the past, the presentation of new films which cannot be seen elsewhere, and the formation of a permanent film library. Will all persons interested communicate with the undersigned at 102 East Twenty-second Street, New York City.

New York, February 2 KENNETH WHITE

For Readers in Florida

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your Florida readers will be interested to know that a group is forming in Central Florida for the purpose of organizing a third political party to cooperate with the League for Independent Political Action. Communications may be addressed to 200 West Gore Avenue, Orlando.

Orlando, Fla., February 24 J. C. HOWELL

Contributors to This Issue

GERALD W. JOHNSON is on the editorial staff of the Baltimore *Evening Sun.*

JAMES RORTY is author of a book of poems, "Children of the Sun," and is preparing a book on advertising.

AGNES SMEDLEY, author of "Daughter of Earth," has lived in China for many years.

C. R. F. SMITH is connected with the Citizens' Committee on Relief and Employment in St. Louis.

LYNN RIGGS is the author of a volume of poems, "The Iron Dish."

YOUNGHILL KANG, a Korean student of the literature and philosophy of the Orient, and a member of the department of English of New York University, has written the story of his life in "The Grass Roof."

ROBERT CANTWELL is author of "Laugh and Lie Down."

BENJAMIN GINZBURG is author of "The Adventure of Science."

CUTHBERT WRIGHT is author of "The Story of the Catholic Church."

PETER MUNCH is Denmark's Minister for Foreign Affairs.

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Finance

Clipping the Bears' Claws

IF selling stocks short has been a factor in depressing security values, we should soon be enjoying a lively boom on the Stock Exchange, which has taken steps to make this speculative operation more difficult and probably more hazardous and costly. Hitherto, brokerage-house customers have as a rule merely given a blanket permission to the broker, as part of the usual form of agreement on opening an account, to lend their stocks. Many customers have probably never read this agreement, or understood its real meaning. But in the future the broker must obtain his clients' signatures on a separate document, permitting stocks held in margin accounts to be lent to short sellers, and the Exchange hints that it may from time to time require its members to remind customers that they have the right to rescind the authorization previously given.

Bear traders, on the publication of this news, rushed pell-mell to cover their commitments, for if they cannot borrow stocks they cannot do business. In the scramble they almost sent average prices to new high records for the year, but the flurry was over in an hour and prices sank heavily toward lower levels. The bulls, apparently, were not convinced that the shackling of the bears had removed the last obstacle to a sweeping advance in prices. To the longer heads in Wall Street, at least, this doubt seems well founded. For the philosophy which assumes that short selling forces prices to unwarranted low levels is a curious one. It is based on the assumption that a number of astute, bold, and financially powerful men exist who are capable of driving prices below intrinsic values, but that there does not exist any group of astute, bold, and financially powerful men ready to pick up the bargains thus created.

Statistics notoriously can be made to prove anything, so it will not do to rely on them too heavily in examining the effect of short sales on prices. Yet the figures in the case are at least entitled to the weight of circumstantial evidence. Last May 25 the total short interest on the New York Stock Exchange was officially reported as 5,589,700 shares, and the average price index of the Standard Statistics Company stood at 106.4. By the end of the year the outstanding short account had practically been cut in half and amounted to 2,842,072 shares, but along with this reduction the price index had fallen to 64.5. It may legitimately be argued, from that record, that the buying in of shorts does not provide a cushion for falling prices, if outside conditions are such as to produce a decline; but it certainly cannot be argued that short selling provoked the decline, for short sales were curtailed on balance.

But during the period cited, outside conditions were obviously unfavorable, including the credit collapse of Central Europe and the fall of England from the gold standard. A shorter interval ought to furnish a better criterion. Does it? Between December 10 and December 31 there was a reduction of 925,164 shares in the outstanding short interest—in other words, a net covering of shorts; yet the price index declined 3.6 points. During January there was an increase of 758,193 shares in the short account, and the price index ended the month substantially where it began.

Justification for altering the established procedure, here as in other directions, is cited in the alleged abnormal and temporary condition in which we find ourselves. But to the extent that precedent is lacking, the changes made ought to be supported by a strong basis of probable benefit. Even well-meant errors must be eventually paid for.

S. Palmer Harman

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Books, Architecture, Drama

The Harbor

By LYNN RIGGS

To come upon such quiet in a town
With amber ropes and earthy nets to dry,
The sun a torrid bloom against the eye,
And mirrored boats with orange sails thrown down—
Is to be chastened by the miracle
Of earth and sun and man and moving seas
Caught in a crystal momentary peace
Still as a rock, eloquent as a bell.

Along a water that is ironed of motion,
Thus, disbelieving, we must stand and stare:
A glassy well forsaken of commotion
May cup and hold such latitudes of air
And sun and silence and a shining ocean
And men at work as if they knelt at prayer.

Liberalism and Economics

Essays in Persuasion. By John Maynard Keynes. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

MR. KEYNES has collected here what he calls "the croakings of twelve years—the croakings of a Cassandra who could never influence the course of events in time." The volume includes what he believes to be at present most relevant and interesting in his writings on the peace treaty, on inflation and deflation, on the gold standard, on Russia, on liberalism, and on the future; it reveals both his detailed proposals for dealing with various post-war crises and circumstances and his general economic and political philosophy. The collection is surely an impressive one. Mr. Keynes has good reason to be proud of the astonishing accuracy of most of his predictions. This accuracy is not the result of good luck; it is the result of a brilliant understanding both of economic "principles" in the narrow sense and of political and mass-psychological forces. The analysis, for example, made in 1919, of Germany's ability to pay reparations, which seemed to most readers at the time to place that ability at an almost ridiculously low figure, reads in the light of events merely like a calm statement of the incontrovertible; it could still be read with great profit by anyone who still believes that Germany has been deliberately "welching." And Mr. Keynes's predictions before 1925 of what would probably happen if England returned to the gold standard at the old parity have likewise been very closely fulfilled.

But one must still quarrel with Mr. Keynes, and that quarrel must be based not on any minor issue, but on the one issue with which his name in recent years has been most closely associated—the abandonment of the gold standard for what he is pleased to call a "managed" currency. It is one thing to decide whether and under what circumstances and to what extent a currency ought to be devaluated in terms of gold; it is quite another to propose permanently cutting loose from the gold anchor altogether. It is not possible here to do more than indicate Mr. Keynes's principal fallacies and misconceptions on this point. He is an adherent of the quantity theory of money, apparently in its strictest form. He believes, that is, that the price level in any given country varies directly and precisely with the *quantity* of money in circulation (including under "money" total bank deposits, and not forgetting "velocity of circulation"). Now if this view were correct, it would obviously make no real difference whether the money in question were redeemable in gold, or merely in an equal weight of silver, lead, or tinfoil, or whether it were not redeemable in anything at all. The only question of importance would be the regulation of its quantity. And Mr. Keynes writes, most of the time, as if this were true. He writes also as if it would be extremely simple for a central bank or board of control to regulate the quantity of money and credit, merely by raising or lowering the discount rate to the right amount and at the right time, or by some other minor adjustment. But experience shows that while it is always possible to discourage the expansion or bring about a contraction of the volume of credit by raising the discount rate high enough, it is impossible to know under any given circumstances by precisely *how much* a rise in the discount rate will affect the volume of credit. As for lowering the discount rate, such a move may not, at a time of depression, affect the volume of credit at all.

One need not press these considerations, because Mr. Keynes's own argument is far from consistent. Though he calls the gold standard "already a barbarous relic," though he was jubilant last September at the breaking of England's "gold fetters," though he has only sarcasm and derision for those who have anything good to say for the gold standard, yet, in the section of the present volume on Positive Suggestions for the Future Regulation of Money, which he tells us in his preface represents his own present scheme for dealing with the currency problem, he actually puts forward a plan closely resembling Irving Fisher's "compensated dollar" (less clear-cut than that, but quite as unworkable), and ends by keeping gold as "an ultimate safeguard and as a reserve for sudden requirements," on the ground that "no superior medium is yet available." All that this means, I think, is that Mr. Keynes wants to eat his cake and have it too. He wants to be both off the gold standard and on it. He wants the privilege of thumbing his nose at it most of the time, and running to it in emergencies. This is what he calls a "scientific" currency scheme. (To avoid misunderstanding, perhaps I ought to remark that I agree with Mr. Keynes that the gold standard works in some respects rather badly, and that I do not expect it to last for ever and ever. But it is so immensely superior to any "management" scheme so far suggested to take its place that it would seem to me disastrous to abandon it now.)

One does not like to end, however, with such a criticism when writing about an author who says so many admirable things and says them so admirably. I prefer to quote a few sentences from the political section of the present volume which ought to give pause to some of those liberals who are now hurling themselves so recklessly into the arms of the Communists. Mr. Keynes believes that the political problem of mankind is to combine three things: economic efficiency, social justice, and individual liberty. "The first needs criticism, precaution, and technical knowledge; the second, an unselfish and enthusiastic spirit which loves the ordinary man; the third, tolerance of variety and independence, which prefers, above everything, to give unhindered opportunity to the exceptional and to the aspiring." Communism helps to secure social justice, but at the sacrifice of economic efficiency and particularly of individual liberty. Only a new liberalism, free from the dogmas of nineteenth-century liberalism and adjusted to contemporary facts, seems likely to secure all three.

> On the economic side I cannot perceive that Russian communism has made any contribution to our economic problems of intellectual interest or scientific value. I do

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not think that it contains, or is likely to contain, any piece of useful economic technique which we could not apply, if we chose, with equal or greater success in a society which retained all the marks, I will not say of nineteenth-century individualistic capitalism, but of British bourgeois ideals. Theoretically at least, I do not believe that there is any economic improvement for which revolution is a necessary instrument. . . . How can I accept a doctrine which sets up as its bible, above and beyond criticism, an obsolete economic textbook which I know to be not only scientifically erroneous but without interest or application for the modern world?

HENRY HAZLITT

The Awakening East

The Challenge of the East. By Sherwood Eddy. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.
Japan. By Inazo Nitobe. Charles Scribner's Sons. $5.
Western Influences in Modern Japan. By Inazo Nitobe and Twenty Others. University of Chicago Press. $4.
Far Eastern International Relations. By H. B. Morse and H. F. MacNair. Houghton Mifflin Company. $6.
Rural Education for the Regeneration of Korea. By Helen Kim. New York: 150 Fifth Ave. $1.50.

LOOK at the map of Asia. You will find the large country of China in the most chaotic and complicated unrest, one-fourth of the human race undergoing a revolution toward a new order and unity. This revolution has many folds, social, political, industrial, intellectual. You will find Japan, rapidly modernizing, becoming one of the six most powerful nations of the world, beginning to stand out as the most imperialistic. Her policies of conquest in the southwestern Pacific, including Formosa, the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines, and islands below the equator, are only partially completed, owing to Western possessions, but her other ambition, that of dominating the eastern part of the Asiatic mainland, with control over Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, and the important parts of China, we see in process of accomplishment. On the map you will find Korea, where peaceful revolution against Japan has been going on since 1919, where the inhabitants say they will never give up until they reach once more the goal of liberty. You will find India, also in a non-violent revolution under the leadership of Gandhi—Gandhi, "sitting cross-legged upon the floor in the posture of Buddha, turning his spinning-wheel, a wheel of fate, of freedom for one-fifth of the human race." The Philippines are here, too, clamoring that they are ripe for their independence and claiming that they would have been better off if the Americans had never gone in. An era of rapid progress is inaugurated in Turkey, and in Palestine there is a movement for a rebirth of Jewish culture.

All this constitutes what Dr. Eddy calls "The Challenge of the East." He has traveled widely in these several countries and has interviewed their leaders. Thus he has gathered much first-hand information, although his views tend to satisfy neither the conquerors nor the conquered. But his ideas are fair and moderate, and would give the layman some conception of the outstanding events in these seething Eastern countries. Dr. Helen Kim's valuable formula for rural education in Korea might be used to supplement Dr. Eddy's chapter on the Korean renaissance through education.

In "Japan" Dr. Nitobe, well known to the West, gives the brief historical background of his subject, then devotes most of his pages to the modern Japan of the last sixty years. He analyzes Japanese government, politics, educational problems, labor, food, and population with comparative comments. Dr. Nitobe is well versed in both Japanese and Western politics, having spent many years in Geneva, where he was a keen student of international affairs, yet he has always retained to the full his national personality. All that he says in this book is typically Japanese in outlook, even when he makes comparative remarks. For this very reason the book is important in helping the reader to understand the Japanese point of view, in which "knowledge is not to be sought for its own sake, but for a patriotic purpose." Now that Japan with her imperialistic program shares honors with Russia and her Communist experiment as one of the two most-talked-of nations of the world, it is important to understand the Japanese samurai, a "patriot to the core."

"Western Influences in Modern Japan" is a collection of articles in the form of a symposium. Like many another symposium the result is very unsuccessful. Yet here are a number of articles with excellent ideas—for instance, Politics in Japan and Two Exotic Currents. On the whole, however, this book is poor, particularly in arrangement and in style. As to the latter, all, perhaps, could be excused except the chapter on English Literature in Japan, which was written by a professor of English literature in Tokio University. This collection, assembled by Dr. Nitobe, however unsatisfactory, has at least the advantage of being written by the Japanese about their own country and from their own viewpoint.

"Far Eastern International Relations" gives a brief summary of conditions and incidents in the relationship of Western nations in the Far East, but more particularly of Eastern nations among themselves. While it is dull reading, it may give the student of international affairs an idea of the subject. Though none of these books touches the present conflict in Manchuria and Shanghai, any one of them prepares the reader for what is happening, so that he will view the facts with no surprise. Dr. Eddy treats of the great awakening of the Far East in the midst of angry and uncertain currents; Dr. Nitobe treats of Japan's progress and inevitable leadership; Mr. Morse and Mr. MacNair sum up the whole international situation in the Far East; and Miss Kim shows why the Koreans of recent years have moved in such large numbers into Manchuria.

YOUNGHILL KANG

Second Person Singular

Towards a Better Life. By Kenneth Burke. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

WE have had novels written in the first and third person singular often enough in the past—novels in which "I" performed certain actions and made various descriptive and analytical comments upon the actions, explaining them, apologizing for them, or merely describing them. The repetition of this process has had the effect of making literature a humble and shamefaced profession; the artist stands before his audience, explains what has happened and why it is important, draws character sketches of various people, and suggests the relationship between them, and the involved course of coincidences, resentments, and affections that led to the catastrophe. In "Towards a Better Life" Mr. Burke may be said to have written a novel in the second person singular—instead of "I did this" or "he did this" we have the accusing "you did this." Instead of pleading with his audience, Mr. Burke attacks it. Reading "Towards a Better Life" may be likened to overhearing a quarrel in the street. A character named John Neal is addressing someone we do not know, a man he calls Anthony, and we learn of what has happened in the same way that we build up an imaginative preface to a quarrel we overhear; stray clues may guide us, or a mention of some specific incident, but

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the quarrel is the important matter, not its cause, and in the end each listener's interpretation of the cause will depend upon his own experiences and upon his memories of them.

It is John Neal's emotion that attracts us first, and his wit. He feels that Anthony has wronged him, and he attacks him with a savage sarcasm, making incidental remarks on the implications of some incident that are concise and unexpected. Neal is a brilliant speaker, but his emotion seems to prevent his developing his arguments logically. His moods change rapidly; he remembers various encounters, people they both knew, a suicide, a trip. We learn that Florence, whom he loved, has been Anthony's mistress, and presently we learn that he has found Florence, learned of her disgrace, and sent her away. Another woman, Genevieve, has entered his life, but he has sent her away as well, and quarreled with his friends. Unlike most apologists, Neal seems determined to present himself in as unfavorable a light as possible, and he succeeds. He lies continually; he is pompous and boastful; he paints himself in an attractive light only to confess that he has been lying. Yet when we grow impatient with him, and turn away from his confused troubles, he wins us again with a brilliant phrase, or a flash of pathetic recollection, or a purely lyric flight—for Anthony has disappeared, the "you" has become the reader, or society, or all mankind. And with Anthony's disappearance Neal grows increasingly eloquent: he no longer speaks in confidence, but addresses a multitude, calling upon the outcasts—"Oh, lepers of mankind, gutter rats, printers of the sewers"—and turns upon the prosperous—"the well-fed and well-intrenched, comfortably summoning the people to rebel." He tries to pray but he cannot believe, and in the end his eloquence has exhausted itself; he can only speak in disjointed whispers, telling himself that he is "humbled . . . that silence cannot be advocated silently."

There is no parallel for "Towards a Better Life." In form it resembles the sermon, but based on the authority of observation rather than Scripture. Ideally, the comments should treat of experiences common to everyone, rather than an involved and personal story. It is important in that it seeks to restore the original dignity of learning and art, advocating a militant literature of command rather than the persuasive plucking at the sleeve the novelist has been forced to resort to in his attempt to gain attention.

ROBERT CANTWELL

In the Name of Science

Man Comes of Age. By John Langdon-Davies. Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

THE French have a way of characterizing certain discussions as fit only for a public meeting. On the same principle "Man Comes of Age" should be catalogued as a lecture-platform book. It has all the charm and appeal—and all the vices—of the popular lecturer dispensing culture before women's clubs and Chautauqua circuits. And if you like to be titillated with grand phrases—"Science says," "What science means to you"—if you do not want to be provoked to thought but to be encouraged in the prejudices you already have, if you are interested not in intellectual clarity and consistency but in imaginative fireworks and *tours de force*—then this is a book which you will surely like and enjoy. But if you are at all intelligent and have a genuine respect for the world of thought and the things of the spirit, you will probably be irritated to fury in reading it.

The purpose of the book, as Mr. Langdon-Davies explains in the preface, is to interpret the panorama of science in terms of the daily life and philosophy of the average man—to tell the average man what he may do, what he may believe, and how he may be happy in the light of the discoveries of modern science. Now it may be granted, inasmuch as everything in this universe of ours is connected with everything else, that the findings of natural science have some bearing on the average man's daily beliefs and happiness. At the same time it is obvious that the degree of bearing, or lack of bearing, on personal human problems is not given on the face of the scientific discoveries. Einstein's well-deserved laurels have been bestowed on him because his theory of relativity solves certain physical and astronomical problems and not—as Mr. Langdon-Davies actually intimated in his last book—because it involves the relativity of morals. To be sure, a philosopher synthesizing all phases of human experience might discover the bearing of physical relativity or of any other scientific fact on human morals, but if he does so his discovery will be due fully as much to his own philosophic competence as to the establishment of certain facts by the laboratory scientists. On the other hand, if he has no special philosophic competence and is merely trying to combine his common-sense confusions with the facts of science, he will be perpetrating not merely bad philosophy but dishonest philosophy—passing off a bad article under the mantle and prestige of science.

This is what Mr. Langdon-Davies has done. In his previous book, "Man and His Universe," he directly represented the march of science as a quest for new conceptions of God. In this book he changes his tactics but he arrives at the same goal, which is to pass off his personal views on religion and happiness under the cachet of science. According to him, the error of past thought lay in believing that reality possessed a moral law and moral values. Modern science has proved that this is not true. Reality is without values, and science alone deals with reality. Values belong to "the world of make-believe." So far the doctrine would be equivalent to old-fashioned materialism, which also said that religion was a fairy-tale without bothering to map out the land of fairy tales. But Mr. Langdon-Davies has heard somewhere that science no longer deals with hard material atoms but with relations! With relations one can do wonders; one can even solve the problem of how God belongs to the world of make-believe and to reality at the same time. This sleight of hand must be given in the author's own words:

> . . . Most of the confusion in our minds about religion and science can be traced to misunderstanding of that word "reality." We have seen that for science what a thing really is has no meaning. The brute facts out of which the scientist builds his description of the universe by the use of mathematical logic may be particles of electricity, or ideas in the mind of God; he does not care, for to him both are but names given to an altogether unknowable *X*. Now this is where religion comes in. In the world of make-believe it can make a great deal of difference as to whether we call the stuff of the universe electricity or an idea in God's mind, for names such as these color our emotions and order our point of view toward life itself. Religion has the choosing of what names shall be given to things in the important game of make-believe, and the choice must be conditioned by the question of what name brings with it the greatest prospects of happiness. But above all we must guard against the danger of taking the name as telling us anything about reality.

To get the full force of the maneuver, it needs to be recalled that the author has been insisting all along that science is not interested any more in what a thing is, but in what it does and how it behaves. This means that after science has charted the world according to its objective behavior and invented names accordingly—calling a spade according to its behavior a spade—we may then invite religion to call a spade an angel, since if we believed that it was an angel we would get quite a kick out of it. But we must never, never believe that calling

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a spade an angel tells us anything about its real character or behavior.

The reader has probably been curious to ask whether this great world of make-believe, on which all future ethics is to depend, is a world common to all individuals or one which each one makes up for himself. Ethics would be a quite simple affair if each one could make up the world of make-believe for himself. On the other hand, if it were shared in common, it would cease to be make-believe and would become quite real and objective. Even Mr. Langdon-Davies's virtuosity is unequal to the difficulty, and both views are set down by him side by side. Page 205: "We shall supplement the world of reality not with one world of make-believe in which all alike must dwell, but with many such worlds, as many perhaps as there are people." Page 213: "As to good and bad, we have carte blanche to define them as we wish, not as individuals of course, but as social beings dependent on the needs and judgments of other human beings."

But if Mr. Langdon-Davies is not quite sure just what he believes, he does not hesitate to invoke the blessing of science for his beliefs. He closes his book with the statement: "Once religion and ethics have been freed by the new science from the tyranny of the old, the reasonable man will be able to begin the building of his new world of make-believe on some such principles as these."

BENJAMIN GINZBURG

Lucretius, Jr.

Impassioned Clay. By Llewelyn Powys. Longmans, Green and Company. $2.

WE are too inclined, perhaps, to think of the Powys family, like the Sitwells, not as a family but as a firm. In the happy fields of contemporary English letters they have hunted in a pack, so that the name of Powys, like a trademark, causes the voracious reader to sniff appreciatively or reject instinctively every new product, depending on whether or not he likes the brand. This failure to discriminate is a little hard on John Cowper, the oldest of the brothers, who has written one of the most remarkable novels of the generation, "Wolf Solent." When it comes, however, to young Mr. Llewelyn Powys's digest of universal history in 120 pages, one feels a certain sympathy with the pious or the right-thinking who instinctively turn away and pass by on the other side.

Mr. Powys began his little study of this planet from the Jurassic era to the general strike, he tells us, on Sunday, June 1, 1930. He does not conclude that he is finishing it on Monday, June 2, of the same year, but that is the impression. It is a brash, insolent, exasperating little book, written with that awful affirmation, that dreadful, downright dogmatism of which only your militant atheist is capable. In the plangent horns and brasses of the insistent style there is no place for the harmonies and hesitations of a Renan, or an Anatole France. There is no plan in nature, reiterates Mr. Powys. There is no God, except perhaps Apollo, in his double role of celestial body and patron saint for writers with a too lyrical prose. As Freud has so well said, "Religions are the universal obsessional neurosis [*sic*] of humanity." The Greeks, perhaps, had an inkling of the true Gospel according to Llewelyn; at all events "they advanced with light steps over the mountain passes, free in body, free in mind." In fact, a great deal of the old rot about the Greeks is repeated in a style which we supposed had gone out of existence when J. A. Symonds died and Swinburne retired to Putney. Jesus—though Christian, I regret to say, to reverse Pecksniff's lament over the sirens—was "an original and passionate poet." St. Paul, one is again glad to hear as one is always glad to greet an old friend, however often, "invented a religion with Jesus as its God. He was a crazy man in the throes of starting a crazy religion." So much for the most superb metaphysical brain of the first century.

"But let it go. What does it matter?" as Mr. Powys says in the next sentence. What does matter is that "boys and girls with senses uncorrupted, with senses fair and fresh," should—well, that they should behave, continuously, as boys and girls, so happily constituted, are expected to behave. "They must fill their hands with purple fruit, crush the sweet globes that the little foxes love," and more to the same purpose. In a word, "Let copulation thrive," and the words are Mr. Powys's own. Exactly. There is an unforgettable picture of the sort of society where copulation thrives, somewhat exclusively, in Mr. Aldous Huxley's last and quite terrifying novel, "Brave New World." But why write a book about the Neanderthal man, the Cro-Magnon, the Greeks, the Jews, Jesus, and Saint Paul, in order to establish an affirmation which is, to say the least, just a little questionable?

CUTHBERT WRIGHT

Books in Brief

Fair Winds and Foul. By Heinrich Hauser. Translated from the German by Bertha Szold Levin. Horace Liveright. $2.50.

Here is an extraordinarily rich narrative of personal experience by one who, like the Australian A. J. Villiers, elected to voyage in one of the few remaining sailing vessels which haunt the seas—ghosts of a past which, though recent, was so different that it is hardly realizable. The author sailed in 1930 from Germany to Chile as a passenger, but as he had had previous experience as a sailor he soon found himself morally pressed into the ship's work. Without straining after effect, without attempt to concoct a thrilling story, he presents in the form of a diary written aboard an account that is moving in its verisimilitude and appreciation. Mr. Hauser does not sentimentalize the disappearance of wind ships in overseas commerce. "They have survived their own usefulness," he says sanely. The book contains some really illustrative photographs taken on the passage by the author.

Free Born. By Scott Nearing. New York: Urquhart Press.

This is a propaganda novel good enough of its kind to stand beside the novels of Upton Sinclair. It has power behind it, and truth—if not the whole truth. The radical preaching novelist is not called upon to accept in his art the generally accepted standards of values. But like every dramatist he must heighten his story to carry over his message. The novel is about Negroes and addressed to Negroes. It resolves itself into a plea to them, as exploited workers, to join with white workers in the class struggle on the Communist front. The story starts with a vivid and horribly realistic account of a lynching in Georgia, proceeds to South Carolina and the "nigger town" of a small mill city, moves on to Chicago, and winds up in the Pennsylvania coal mines where Negroes have been imported as strike-breakers. The protagonist is an appealing Negro youth of superior qualities, well portrayed in his weakness and strength. The book is privately published because "commercial publishers here and abroad rejected the manuscript" as "obviously impossible . . . to be handled by an ordinary publisher."

The End of Desire. By Robert Herrick. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.

This is the story of the middle-aged love of two American scientists—Dr. Redfield, an alienist, and Dr. Massey, a modern woman psychologist. The quality of their respective loves is very different; and the man, feeling a deep and single devotion

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Introduction by Bertrand Russell

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for the woman, is slow in realizing that to this masculine type of female, love is little more than the expression of physical necessity. The woman is one of the most disagreeable, hateful creations in recent fiction, very effectively portrayed. The story is complicated by the sexual problems or marriage difficulties of the man's grown son and the woman's grown sons and daughter. The meaning of the novel is clear. The highly developed and intricate mystery of romantic love among cultivated people is not only superior to the lust of savagery, irresponsible erotic desire, perversions, the puppy urges of youth, and practical matings, but is the one important, precious thing for the civilized man or woman—transcending in importance both material success and the passion for pure art or science. This is a novel that holds the interest; and it is written with a measure of distinction.

A History of Transportation in the Ohio Valley. By Charles Henry Ambler. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company. $7.50.

This is hardly a book for the general reader, but for those who are interested in steamboats or the development of commerce in the valley of the Ohio River it contains a quantity of valuable material, written with more distinction than one expects in such a volume. The author, who is professor of history in West Virginia University, reminds us that even before 1800—and in important numbers for some years after—ocean-going vessels were built in Ohio River shipyards and floated down the Mississippi to salt water. Marietta and the region around Pittsburg were notable for such activity.

Architecture

"New Mayland"

A HALF-DOZEN cities in Germany boast first-class housing projects, or *Siedlungen,* but Frankfort is the one for the foreigner to study and admire. Here the architectural methods used were the most comprehensive and direct. For five years one man of immense vigor, Ernst May, was virtually the dictator. In those five years "New Mayland" came to encompass some 15,000 houses, meant to represent the best that the twentieth century can do for the average man.

Now, the radical assumption at Frankfort was that the person who knows what sort of house is most practical for living in is not the speculator or the financier but the architect. The architect knows in Frankfort because he has subordinated his study of land, money, and materials—the only science most contemporary architecture knows—to the real problem, which concerns space, comfort, sanitation, sunlight, and gardens—in short, human habitation. And this problem he has set out to solve absolutely, for the sake of the best, and not haphazardly, with reference to what people for the moment might prefer.

This is what gives Frankfort its forthright and unequivocal character. Thus, for example, the visitor to the most recent developments, such as Westhausen or the Friedrich Ebert Siedlung, finds houses not in squares but in long straight continuous rows, facing not one another but all the same way, with wide garden spaces between, the rows at right angles instead of parallel to all but a very few streets. Inquiry reveals that the disposition is in relation to that most immutable geographic factor, the sun. Since the sun rises always in the east and sets in the west, there is presumably just one best position for houses to assume in relation to its path; and, unless other factors intervene, to assume always. This much established, there developed in Germany two schools of thought: one running its house-rows

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east-west, the other north-south. Frankfort belongs to the latter, having made her choice; and so the bedrooms generally open to the east to get sunned and aired in the morning, and living-rooms west for the afternoon and evening light, while no rooms whatever, in this scheme, get the direct hot rays of noon. Though this theory may prove faulty, it cannot possibly prove badly wrong; whereas in our own square city blocks or random suburban ones, if the lighting is correct for one house, it is *ipso facto* incorrect for another.

The rows are continuous because of the soil. Since the houses are joined, a lot of soil is saved from what would have been almost useless space between them, and added to the gardens. Building height, too, is in relation to the soil—the soil first of all, and only much later the "land." Frankfort believes that a citizen is happier when he can step right out of his living-room into a garden and get his fingers in the dirt; and this is the reason why the ideal is a house of only two stories, joined to its neighbor by the party wall; flats or apartment houses are built only as stop-gaps for the most pressing need.

Inside, the rooms approach squareness, the shape which gives the most spaciousness with least wall; plans have been worked on until ingenuity could hardly produce more roominess with so little actual area, a feat more difficult when rooms are not squeezed into long narrow shapes. The bathroom and particularly the kitchen are special triumphs, the first for Germany, the second for anywhere: the Frankfort kitchen is standardized with compactness and convenience surpassing anything I have yet seen in comparable houses. It was designed by a woman, Frau Schuette-Lihotzky.

Now Frankfort, with her one architectural director, one purpose, and one set of conditions obtaining, runs naturally to a single type. So, at any rate, think a good many visiting Americans, who would like to transport its "modern style." I beg to disagree. The type is not one but a hundred. Many congenial designers were called in, and, with the desiderata once established, given unusual freedom to experiment. Not the houses are the same, but the stamp is. And, in direct opposition to my fellows who are expounding the "style" so rigidly adhered to in Frankfort because it is "scientific," I wish to proclaim the value it derives from being arbitrary.

The common pattern is the box with the flat roof and "cardboard" wall. The Frankfort house-row in all its variations is a handsome elongated shoe box. Among all the 15,000 houses there is not one pitched roof, not an arch, not one carved ornament or "detail." The houses are hatless. Standing before their vast, level, horizontal expanse you draw in your breath before something entirely new. It is new, and, precisely like such acknowledged monuments of architecture as the Florentine palaces, it has something about it, at first sight, of the *tour de force*, something not only strange but monstrous. It makes you stop, wonder, think. And this, I believe, is precisely what Ernst May would want. Genius always wants it, having an idea to proclaim.

"Here is the new temper and the new act in the play of architecture," so say the houses. "The side we present to the distant view is pure white, to make a strong and lyrical horizontal line against the sky and to distinguish us from other parts of the city; among ourselves and facing one another, however, we have walls of red and tan and blue for the sake of pleasant and novel variety. We stand a community in closed rows; we are cubical because we try economically to encompass the biggest space; in order to *seem* still more spacious we push our windows out flush, *as if* with twentieth-century efficiency this volume of ours were held in mere membranes of wall, cardboard thin. Our appearance is so sober, direct, unequivocal, and unexpectedly charming that you will prefer us to quaint but ill-suited high-gabled cottages, and you will never forget us among our greenery with our hatless heads."

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Now I would certainly not proclaim this the ultimate "modern style" for America. As construction it is far from pure science; and even to speak of it in terms of "steel-glass-concrete," as was recently done in an American essay, is exceedingly careless. The material is generally good old brick covered with stucco modeled by very absence of modeling into a new *expressive* form. Its value is that it conserves and dramatizes the new science in planning and arrangement till the new science of building can come.

"Doubtless," declares May himself, "building policies such as ours must always be one-sided, for many-sidedness and deviation would end in weakness and loss of character. . . . Only gradually, with the conquest of the technical problem, will it be possible for a united cultural aim to be developed, a goal toward which we earnestly strive." An attitude such as that will eventually secure us some most beautiful modern homes.

DOUGLAS HASKELL

Drama

Treacle and Spice

THERE is a good deal to support the contention of those who maintain that the theater tends to lag behind the other arts. The age of Shaw and Ibsen was almost the only one during which new ideas were likely to find their first expression in dramatic form, and that age is already past. Today we have a few playwrights of remarkable gifts, but there is no doubt that the general tone of the international theater is intellectually as well as artistically inferior to that of either the novel or the essay. Even fashions in writing reach the stage long after they have manifested themselves in other forms, and, rightly or wrongly, theatrical managers are less complimentary than publishers when it comes to estimating either the intelligence or the sophistication of their audience. New York prides itself upon being at least more knowing than the "provinces," and yet it is much less rare to find a wholly adult book intended for the country at large than it is to find a play produced for New York alone which does not make important concessions to the naivete of its audience. The theatergoing public is generally assumed to be relatively ignorant, relatively stupid, and relatively "behind the times."

Consider, for example, the minor matter of satire, and consider it in connection with the very admirable revue "Of Thee I Sing." This piece happens to be remarkably thoroughgoing, but at least half of the amazement which it created was due simply to the fact that it exhibited upon the stage a bold irreverence toward politics which is quite familiar elsewhere. It hits no harder than magazines like the *New Yorker* or books like "Washington Merry-Go-Round" have been accustomed to hit; but one is startled to find the theater daring to assume that its audience is as little tenderminded as the audience of a magazine or a book. It was years after naturalism had triumphed in the novel before it really became accepted in the theater, and it may be as many years still before satire can speak there with the freedom which elsewhere it takes for granted.

Certainly there is nothing to indicate that either playwrights or managers have learned the lesson which the success of a revue like "Of Thee I Sing" or a play like "Once in a Lifetime" would seem to teach. This season, for example, there have been a number of plays of topical character which evidently aimed at satire; the opera, the movies, the "column," and the radio have all come in for attention. And yet, with the exception of the revue just mentioned, not one of the plays in question has really stuck to its business or failed to wander off into cheap heroics or cheap sentimentality. Last week "Blessed Event" promised to expose the columnist and ended by sending him to the rescue of a wronged woman; this week "Wild Waves" (Times Square Theater) makes an even more hopeless mess of an excellent topic when it selects the humors of broadcasting as its subject and, after a promising start, descends to hokum quite as low as that which nightly poisons the ether. There are some excellent scenes of frank burlesque. The pompous president, the harassed manager of the studio, and the hard-boiled girl who guards her superiors from the infant prodigies and the irate clergymen are drawn with bold, amusing strokes. But who on earth wrote the main plot about the sweet boy who could not sing except when he was supposed to be someone else, and about the girl who battled with the cynical manager for this same boy's soul? Surely it must have been the continuity writer attached to the studio, who, in one varied day, composes a lyric for "Sealsweet Oysters," an instalment of the "Great Lovers of History" series, and then dictates the last lines of the bedtime story as he exits in the general direction of the five-fifteen. I am positive that I recognized his style.

Evidently several people had a hand in the concoction, and evidently it fails to be any one thing because its sponsors did not have the courage of their own intentions. They wanted or they thought they wanted to write a satiric burlesque, but they doubted, as those responsible for theatrical entertainments usually doubt, whether or not a theatrical audience would be sophisticated enough to take its burlesque straight. They thought they must put something in for that moronic element which is assumed to make up about half of any possible public for a play, and which is also assumed to demand its treacle sauce. But surely it is useless to try to combine wholly incompatible elements and successfully to make the same appeal that you are trying to satirize. No one who realizes the burlesque can possibly take the drama seriously, and no one who takes the drama seriously could fail to prefer to have the burlesque left out. If it is not too many cooks which spoils the chances of "Wild Waves," then it is at least too many cookbooks, and the heroic efforts of Osgood Perkins and Betty Starbuck cannot save it. It may be too sophisticated or it may be too naive for the theater of today, but it is certainly either one or the other.

"Face the Music" (New Amsterdam Theater) is the new Irving Berlin revue devoted to hard times, and it deserves some part of the extravagant praise which has been lavished upon it. There are a couple of good tunes, several well-conceived spectacular scenes, and a dash of satire. But if the truth must be told, it is not nearly so good as "Of Thee I Sing," which it so obviously imitates. The first scene outside the automat, and the opening chorus which explains

> Times are not so sweet
> But the blue-bloods have to eat
> So the best of families meet
> In the Automat

are highly diverting, but the show does not keep the pace it sets, and lapses repeatedly into the conventional style of the revue in a manner which not only breaks the continuity but lends color to the suspicion that it was rewritten after the success of the Kaufman-Gershwin extravaganza. One misses the latter's continuity and consistency. One gets something for everybody's taste, and that means that the whole cannot really be for anyone.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

The Civic Light Opera Company (Erlanger Theater) is reviving "The Merry Widow" with Donald Brian once again Prince Danilo who wins the widow in a waltz. The playing tends to caricature, so the glamor there was once is mostly gone. "Robin Hood" and "The Mikado," with William Danforth, were happier revivals.

D. B.

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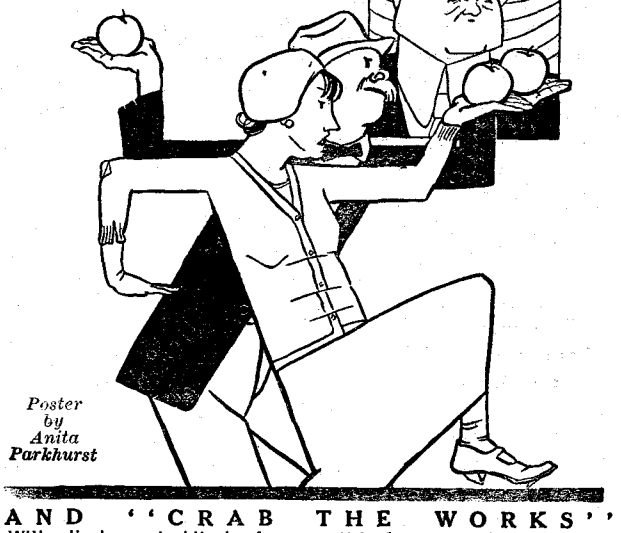
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Danish Disarmament and Neutrals

By PETER MUNCH

CONJOINTLY with the submission of the Disarmament Bill to the Danish Parliament, a matter of international significance was widely discussed in Denmark—the question of the obligations imposed by the Hague Peace Conference treaties of 1907 in so far as the rights and duties of neutral nations are concerned on land and at sea in time of war. At the present time this question no longer seems so grave, to be sure, as it did before the League of Nations was founded. It is conceivable that the complexion of European affairs might be changed, or in the event of possible future wars that the Covenant of the League of Nations rather than the statutes of the Hague treaties would determine the legal attitudes of the subscribing nations. However, as long as the earlier pact continues to be maintained in its present form, there is the possibility that wars which are legally justifiable might arise, wherein the members of the League of Nations will desire to remain neutral and be under no obligation to participate in the conflict, either in a military or in an economic way. In such cases, the Hague treaties would have direct bearing.

The adherents to the idea of increased armament have sought to discover in the Hague treaties an obligation for each and every nation to maintain its military strength, and to that same degree, as well, as do the other nations, proportionate to their populations—all this with an eye to possible wars wherein the nation in question might have cause to apprehend some violations of the Hague treaties by the belligerents.

The proponents of a reduction of armament take the opposite view—that if there had been any intention at The Hague in 1907 to impose upon the subscribing nations an obligatory degree of military strength, this would have been specifically stated, and without doubt this point would have been considered the most important agreement of both the Hague conferences. The terms of these treaties as finally drawn up show that such was not the intention. The sole purpose thereof was to define a series of possible violations of the treaties, which consequently compelled the consideration of police measures calling for a certain military strength, but not of war measures. The use at the Conference on War at Sea of the phrase "whatever means the nation may have at its disposal" was intended to be a frank admission that serious situations might possibly arise wherein interested nations would have no chance of preventing violations of the Hague treaty obligations by the belligerents. No one at The Hague wished to compel a nation which desired to remain neutral to declare war upon a belligerent because the latter might have violated the rights of neutrals in one way or another. It was certainly never intended at a conference on neutrality to create an obligation to declare war.

The entire duty of neutrals, as formulated by both the Hague conferences, consists in the obligation to adopt such means of maintaining a surveillance duty, and to carry them on to such an extent as may be required by circumstances and warranted by the resources the nation in question has at its disposal. The bill for scaling down the Danish army and navy has arisen from the conviction that this surveillance duty by land and by sea will suffice to fulfil all obligations arising from either of the Hague treaties. In drawing up this bill its framers have kept in view the Covenant of the League of Nations as well as the provisions of the Hague treaties with respect to the rights and duties of neutrals. It should be generally understood:

1. That the Disarmament Bill, as agreed to by the Danish lower chamber, does not aim at a complete disarmament, but rather at a transformation of the Danish army and navy into a police force for land and sea duty.

2. That the bill is still under consideration by the upper chamber, and should it be rejected by it, which might conceivably be expected, the same question will once more be laid before both chambers after the next election, whenever that may be.

3. That the Council of the League of Nations has no right to specify a minimum degree of armament for any individual nation.

4. That Paragraph 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations leaves to the several nations themselves the decision as to whether they wish to participate in military sanctions, and that Denmark has declared from the very first that in the event of an actual war the participation in military sanctions, as far as the secondary nations are concerned, should not be reckoned with.

5. That the nations need a police force to be enabled to carry out their surveillance duty upon occasions of an obligatory, economic nature, and that the Danish bill has in view the provision of an organized military strength with regard to such obligatory duties.

6. That Denmark's geographical situation does not warrant ascribing to her an animus of any special sort underlying her moral obligations, despite the widespread conception that Denmark holds in her hands the key to the Baltic. The fact remains that this is an entirely false conception.

7. That the 1907 Hague treaties did not enjoin upon neutral nations the duty of declaring war upon belligerent nations which did not respect the rights of neutrals, but rather obligated these neutrals to maintain a surveillance duty over their borders and in their territorial waters.

8. That the provisions of the Danish Disarmament Bill are entirely sufficient for all obligations which might devolve upon Denmark pursuant to either the Hague treaties of 1907 or the Covenant of the League of Nations.

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